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VOLUME XII

DECEMBER, 1933

NUMBER 2



# SOCIAL FORCES

A Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation

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# SOCIAL FORCES

*A Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation*

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# SOCIAL FORCES

December, 1933

## THE LETTERS OF ALBION W. SMALL TO LESTER F. WARD

EDITED BY BERNHARD J. STERN<sup>1</sup>

*Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*

LESTER F. WARD'S *Dynamic Sociology*, published in 1883, the writing and publishing of which had involved "fifteen lonely years of labor," had been virtually ignored until Small, then president of Colby University recognized its merit in 1890. Ward had been on the verge of abandoning sociology as hopeless and of devoting his extraordinary energies exclusively to botany, paleontology, and geology to which he continued to make important contributions. Heartened by the fact that he had a vocal disciple in Small whose effusive public endorsements of Ward's writings were frequent, the latter was stimulated to pursue his sociological interests further.

There could hardly have been a stranger pair of sociological bedfellows than Ward and Small, and it is not surprising that their relations eventually became strained. Their personalities were disparate; their

social philosophies and world views markedly diverse. Small, the son of a New England clergyman, educated in the East and in Europe, was saturated with and felt himself at one with the conventional mores of his environment. Ward, on the other hand, was a product of the frontier; an autodidact for the most part, he had struggled and suffered for a livelihood and for education and he never cloaked his feeling of isolation by gracious suavities. The frank letters of this collection<sup>1</sup> cast Small in the rôle of an artful diplomat, contentious with his fellow sociologists, yet ready to yield to expediency, to temper the vigor of his sociological criticisms of contemporary institutions in order not to offend the sensibilities of cautious clergymen and other conservatives. Ward in contrast was uncompromising.

Their diverse attitudes toward religion reflect how fundamentally at variance the two men were. Small never emancipated himself from his early religious and theological training; in Chicago he served as an active trustee and deacon of a Baptist church. Ward, who saw religion as a foe of science and of progress (in the limited terms of secularism rather than in the manner of an historical materialist), had in his youth edited a periodical called the *Icono-*

<sup>1</sup> The editor hereby acknowledges the grant-in-aid given by the Social Science Research Council which facilitated his research on the Ward manuscript collection now in the library of Brown University, whose staff afforded him most cordial and appreciated assistance. With the exception of several letters included in the editor's article "Giddings, Ward and Small: An Interchange of Letters" in *SOCIAL FORCES*, X, 305-318 (March, 1932), the letters here published appear in print for the first time.

*class*. He declined to minimize his attack on religion in *Dynamic Sociology*, even at the risk of its being refused publication by Appleton who delayed printing the book because of the fear that the firm's reputation would be injured by it. When Small questioned the advisability of alienating churchgoers from his other teachings by this opposition, Ward did not try to placate his newly found ally but dismissed brusquely the suggestion that he should be influenced by such considerations. Small later characterized this as revealing a lack of plasticity; in the setting of Ward's biography it may better be interpreted as integrity.

This divergence in their attitudes toward religion suffused itself into other basic conflicts between the two men. Small's orientation in sociology was fundamentally ethical; his prime interest was in social betterment; he sought in sociology a valid program of social reform. Ward sought to exclude the word "ethical" from the province of pure sociology in an attempt to avoid committing sociology to the reformism which Small advocated. Underlying the pedantic bickerings over terminology in which Small and Ward indulged, this conflict was ever present; it is clearly disclosed in Small's lecture notes on the meaning of the word dynamic, enclosed in his letter of March 10, 1896, in which he wished to justify a reformist interpretation of social change in industrial, family, and governmental relations.

Ward was by no means a theorist of social revolution in the manner of Marx with whom his name has sometimes been linked,<sup>2</sup> for he was naively hopeful that education in a democracy could achieve fundamental changes in the social structure. He recognized the exploitation of

the proletariat by the owners of wealth but he never fully admitted the extent of the latter's control over the powers and agencies of the state. He arbitrarily, and with surprising ignorance of Marxian socialist literature, charged socialism with seeking to create artificial equalities by conferring the same benefits on all alike. He advocated what he deemed to be a substitute for socialism, "the scientific control of the social forces by the collective mind of society for its advantage." This he designated sociocracy which he declared would confer benefits in strict proportion to merit and would insist on equality of opportunity as the means of determining the degree of merit. He implied that such scientific control could be accomplished within the framework of the present state and economic apparatus, and, although sympathetic with the rising proletariat, he evaded discussion of the need of revolution to attain its objectives. He thought of himself as a scientist, not as a reformer, and was disdainful of Small's reformism with its ethical religious tinge.

Ward's teachings were an impressive challenge to the fatalistic implications of Spencer's rendering of the evolutionary theory; they brought into focus the psychic factors involved in social evolution—the evidence that human activity transforms the environment and perpetuates a social tradition in the interests of man. Although the psychology of feeling and action which underlay Ward's basic contribution was an unhappy compound of the psychology of sensation dating from Locke and of Schopenhauer's theory of the will, yet his concept of "achievement" clearly anticipated one of the fruitful approaches of contemporary cultural sociology. Ward's devastating criticism, on the basis of this concept, of the philosophy of *laissez faire* and thus of the social Darwinians,

<sup>2</sup> See for example A. M. Gvirtzman, *The Sociology of Ward and its Relation to the Sociology of Marx* (St. Petersburg 1913) [In Russian.]

was most instrumental in securing Small's support.

Small's correspondence with Ward began in 1890 with his response to the latter's request for a copy of his *Syllabus*.

Portland, Me., September 18, 1890.

Absence from town beyond reach of the mail has made earlier answer to yours of the tenth impossible. It will be a pleasure to me to mail you a copy of the *Syllabus*<sup>1</sup> immediately upon my return to Waterville next week. You will doubtless be amused at some of the apparent distortions of your work from which I have appropriated so much.

While I have exercised extreme freedom in modifying your views for my own use in the outline, I have constantly referred my students to the passage in the original in order that justice may be done to you. While, as you see, I am unable to sympathize with many of your views, especially on religious relations, I can heartily say that I regard your work as a challenge to sociological study more important than any other single work of American scholarship.<sup>2</sup>

I regret that you found it necessary to express your opinion so freely upon religious subjects, for on that account, many are willing to throw aside your volumes entirely, whereas, without injury to the course of thought, the omission of these references would have left such persons no occasion for suspicion of your methods.<sup>3</sup> I esteem it, however, not only a privilege, but a scholarly duty to call attention to your work, wherever I have opportunity, among students of social relations.

I will act upon your suggestion and send duplicate copies of the syllabus to the Congressional library.

<sup>1</sup> The full title of the publication was: *Syllabus: Introduction to the Science of Sociology. Development of*

*Modern Philosophies of Society, with Special Reference to Comte, Schäffle, Bluntschli, Lieber, Loez, Spencer and Ward.* (Printed at the Mail Office for use of Senior Class, Colby University, Waterville, Me.)

<sup>2</sup> The Introductory Note set forth sharply and categorically Small's dependence on Ward and his condescending disagreement with his anti-religious views: "... The extent to which I have used the *Dynamic Sociology* of Mr. Lester F. Ward is in accordance with my estimate of the importance of that work. In spite of something very like provincialism in his treatment of religion, Mr. Ward deserves a rank among social philosophers which his contemporaries have apparently failed to concede."

<sup>3</sup> To this Ward answered with characteristic bluntness that he "did not write for the feeble minded." See Small's letter of March 28, 1894.

Waterville, Me., October 3, 1890.

Your letter and papers were duly received. The former has been of great interest to me and I anticipate much pleasure as well as profit in the use of the latter.

I fear I have not made myself perfectly clear as to my opinion about your religious utterances. I mean that simply from the strategic or rhetorical point of view I regret that you could not have refrained from certain details which, whatever their importance in the argument, necessarily shock certain people who would otherwise follow you very much further and would accept very much more of your instruction, than they will consent to take when they see in what direction it tends. As a matter not looking to the attainment of popularity, but for the sake of spreading discoveries of truth, it would seem to me wiser to understate, in order not to frighten away the feeble minded, than to express one's self in full, and be thought so dangerous that the whole argument would be abandoned. There are thousands of men who hold to the substance of the traditional evangelical doctrines, who are yet theoretically willing to be convinced that any one of them is untenable. Sup-



posing that some of these doctrines or the whole fabric of them may be false, it is better in dealing with such men, it seems to me, to adopt Beecher's advice "Don't let too many cats out of the bag at once."

I do not mean to be understood that I would have had you disguise your own convictions, but for the sake of the much which seems to me so valuable in your work, I do wish that you had withheld some portions in order that a larger constituency might have been won for the portions that would have remained.

Waterville, Me., July 25, 1891.

If the report is true that *Dynamic Sociology* has been glorified in the flames of Russian inquisition<sup>1</sup> you should be a happy man. Surely the two volumes contain enough to make absolutism tremble, but few men have the satisfaction of seeing their own ideas produce such effects. You will be the envy of every American "who loves his fellow men."

My first thought was—at last Americans will discover, by grace of the Russian censor's auto-da-fé, that an epoch-making book has been before their eyes since 1883 from the pen of one of their own contemporaries, and only a handful of them have had the wit to discover it. What a debt we shall owe to Russia for this eye-opener!

Your last two papers have been particularly instructive, although I am so poverty-stricken in the rudiments of Biology that I cannot get the best out of them.

<sup>1</sup> Ward heard about the condemnation of *Dynamic Sociology* in Russia through a letter from George Kennan who was then carrying on agitation in America against Tzarist persecution and the exiling of revolutionists:

"Once before I had the pleasure of giving you some news with regard to the reception that your book *Dynamic Sociology* had met with in Russia. I send you today a copy of an English paper edited by my dear friend Felix Volkhowski in which you

will find another complimentary reference to your work. I most heartily congratulate you. In this prosaic indifferent age it is not every man who achieves the distinction of having his books burned by order of a Council of Ministers in the mightiest empire on earth! I have tried in my humble way to serve the cause of liberty in Russia, but I haven't been able to do it with ability enough to get my writings burned. You are evidently a very dangerous man but I am nevertheless with sincere respect and esteem. . . ." (Letter dated Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia, July 15, 1891.)

Ward sought through his Russian correspondents to discover the causes for the suppression of the book. The theory which they concocted was that it was probably burned chiefly on account of its dangerously suggestive title, the word "dynamic" being mistaken for dynamite. Ward incorporated this explanation in the Preface to the second edition of the book which appeared in 1897. The actual facts were later uncovered and were revealed to Ward by Kennan:

"You asked me, some years ago, what I thought the reasons were for the destruction, by order of the Russian Committee of Ministers, of Mr. Nikolaieff's, translation of your *Dynamic Sociology*. I expressed a half jocular opinion that the book was condemned on account of the verbal combination of dynamite and sociology in the title. I can now give you better information. There has recently been published in Russian a report of the Committee of Ministers of books condemned between 1872 and 1891, with the reasons for such condemnation. Your *Dynamic Sociology* is No. 86, and the Ministers report upon it as follows: "Condemned and publication forbidden by the Committee of Ministers, March 26, 1891 (Old Style). The book is saturated with the rankest materialism." That settles your hash! Among some of the other authors who share with you the honor of condemnation are Lassalle, Thomas Hobbes, Louis Blanc, Herbert Spencer (*Social Statics*), Buchner, Haeckel, Lecky (*European Morals and Rationalism*), Diderot, Neumann (*History of the United States*), Zola, George Finlay (*History of the Byzantine and Greek Empires from 716 to 1455*), Brandes, Ribot, and lots of Russians. The reasons given for the condemnations, in many cases, are very funny from an American point of view. (Letter dated Washington, D. C., January 9, 1904.)

Chicago, Ill. January 26, 1893.

Your address, "The Psychological Basis of Social Economics" [American Academy

of Political and Social Science *Annals*, Vol. 3 (January, 1893) pp. 464-482] has just reached me. I have had time simply to cut the leaves and find that it is something which I wish to use immediately. You already know that for a number of years I have placed the highest estimate upon your work and have used it for my own instruction. I have heard of late vague and conflicting accounts of a book which you have nearly ready for publication. You can imagine that I have been awaiting announcements with the greatest eagerness. May I ask you to tell me when you expect to publish it, and, in a word, the scope of the work. The field of social psychology is so inviting but so unexplored that every worker in its must rejoice whenever there is a prospect of assistance in gaining familiarity with it.

Chicago, Ill. March 28, 1894.

I am writing the introductory chapters of a primary text book of Sociology, the bulk of which is to be prepared by one of the "fellows" in my dept. In a section on the systematic treatises upon the subject, I have said the following.<sup>1</sup> Is it too much to ask that you will indicate briefly whether in your judgment I have estimated both Spencer and yourself as correctly as possible in such brief space?

"It is a patriotic as well as a scientific duty to mention finally the most important American contribution to systematic Sociology. Professor Lester F. Ward published in 1883 two volumes entitled *Dynamic Sociology, or Applied Social Science, as based upon Statical Sociology and the less complex sciences*. In 1893 an elaboration of the most original portion of the earlier work appeared under the title, *The Psychic Factors of Civilization*. In two respects the work of Ward is an immeasurable advance upon that of Spencer, with which it is properly to be compared. In the first

place, Sociology, according to Spencer, is, as remarked above, essentially and solely descriptive. Sociology according to Ward is, on the contrary, teleological. 'Dynamic Sociology aims at the organization of happiness.' In the second place, social evolution, according to Spencer, is differentiated by no essential peculiarity from evolution in general. According to Ward, on the other hand, social evolution is distinctively a psychical product; 'society, which is the highest product of evolution, naturally depends upon mind, which is the highest property of matter.'

"It must be noticed that Mr. Ward regards mind as matter at its highest known power. He must not be understood to treat matter and mind as antithetical. His advance upon Spencer in this respect is therefore analogous with that of an observer who discovers a determining vital or chemical factor in phenomena which had been treated as purely physical.

[Ward wrote "No!" in the left margin of this paragraph.]

"It is not necessary to agree with Ward about the essence of mind in order to follow his analysis of mental function in social progress. Whether mind is a property of matter, or an energy distinct from matter, is a question of purely speculative interest and sociologists of both sides concede that the psychical is potent over the non-psychical. Although Ward's Monism and his Social Psychology form a coherent and continuous system, the most confident Dualist might adopt Ward's expositions of social phenomena without modifying his dualistic presumption.

"Nor is it necessary, in order to make constructive use of Ward's work to accept his classification of psychical phenomena, or his interpretation of the relations of those psychical activities which are popularly distinguished as mental, and moral

or spiritual. Whether Ward is right or wrong about these particulars, conservative thinkers have committed a costly blunder in assuming that they have nothing in common with him because of his iconoclasm toward cherished beliefs. Nobody is competent to deal at first hand with sociological problems who cannot distinguish between the principle of social dynamics that Ward expounds, and the logically independent details of individual or social psychology, with reference to which his conclusions may be disputed. The merit of Ward's work is then, in brief, his demonstration of the essentially psychical basis of social phenomena. "The dynamic department of psychology becomes also that of Sociology the moment we rise from the individual to society. The social forces are the psychic forces as they operate in the collective state of man."

With reference to above. I mean by (1) that even in Spencer's *Ethics* there is practically only description of the "Equilibrium of a perfect society," no doctrine of psychic dynamics. The same is true of his *Psychology*. I judge that *Psychic Factors*, pp. 121-2 expresses substantially the same thought.

By (2) I mean that by accepting your first theorem a dualist is placed in no dilemma about ultimate conceptions in which he is not already implicitly. If he had no quarrel with himself before, he would not necessarily have it afterward.

In (3) I have purposely avoided direct mention of your second theorem, and that for purely pedagogical reasons. The part of your book in which above passage occurs is meant for teachers. I am in communication with an increasing multitude of ministers and teachers who want to plunge into Sociology. By that most of them mean that they want references for

a few months' reading with which to prepare themselves for the conquest of the world, but of the rabble a good many can be induced to begin at the bottom, and build cautiously. They have only the most distant acquaintance with scientific method. They are frightened by an unconventional suggestion, and for these people your second theorem contains all the dynamite. Personally, I agree with Kidd in general (*Social Evolution* [London 1894] pp. 18-22)<sup>2</sup> and disagree with you in your estimate of intellectual vs. moral and religious forces. I do not mean by that to dispute your second theorem, but I believe that its final form will allow a higher absolute value to the "direct method of social control." I find that I can make some very cautious theologians study you with interest by telling them that I am far from being convinced that you can justify all your conclusions, while I am satisfied that you have struck bottom with your method. For that reason I think I can accomplish more by vigorous dissent from some of your positions than by unqualified acceptance.

I remember that you wrote me in reply to a similar suggestion some time ago, that you didn't write "for the feeble minded." There are enthusiastic young men who are going to be strong minded one of these days, who are not yet judicial enough to keep from wholesale antagonism with thought with which they are essentially in sympathy, because some of its accidents go against their prejudices. I want to help such get the most from your work.

I have not done justice to *Psychic Factors* yet. I waited for it so long that I raced through it in a rush as soon as it came, and have dealt with selected passages since. I intend to think it through in detail in my next vacation.

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<sup>1</sup> Small and Vincent *Introduction to the Study of Society* (New York 1894) pp. 50-52.

<sup>2</sup> The substance of these pages written in defense of religion are contained in the sentences: "... it is evident that the assault which science has conducted against religion in the past would have to be considered simply an attack on an empty fort. Not only has the real position not been assailed but when we are confronted with it, it would seem to be impregnable" (p. 20).

Chicago, Ill. July 14, 1894.

The notice of your tomorrow's "sermon" on Kidd has just reached me. I wish I could hear it, but you must print it and I shall hope for a copy. I shall be much interested in your estimate of the book.

I have been hoping that you would think it worth while to notice Patten's ideas of scientific method as betrayed in his review of *Psychic Factors*.<sup>1</sup> Apart entirely from his criticisms of your Psychology, his exposition of the method of science in general was a revelation that ought not to be hidden under a bushel. It ought to be worked into number two of a scientific series at the head of which should stand that Portuguese masterpiece "English as she is spoke."

I wish you would review Drummond's *Ascent of Man*. I have yet to discover any evidence that Drummond is taken seriously by any body in the physical or biological sciences, but I would like to have his interpretation appraised authoritatively.

<sup>1</sup> "The Failure of Biological Sociology," American Academy of Political and Social Science *Annals* Vol. 4 (May, 1894), pp. 919-47. Patten when sending a reprint of the review to Ward wrote:

"With this I send you a review of your latest book which will appear in the May *Annals*.

"I hesitated a long time before deciding to review your book from the standpoint of an economist, but I finally decided that a good opportunity to contrast the economic and sociological standpoints would be lost if I did not undertake the task.

"In many ways a more favorable review might

be more pleasing for the moment, but I trust that your feelings will be like mine in the desire for an honest criticism of ideas to which years of work have been given to develop.

"I hope you will regard me friendly even if outspoken in the criticism of ideas with which I do not agree.

"You have made a fine start towards the discussion of the fundamental problems of sociology. If it can be followed up by discussions of particular points we will soon have the science on a sound basis." (Letter dated Philadelphia, Pa., April 25, 1894.)

In the review he declared: "I believe that the biologic bias creates erroneous notions of social phenomena and stimulates activity along fruitless lines of investigation. Moreover, I hold that the only entrance to sociology and to psychology as well, lies through the economic studies which have already proved so fruitful in an adjacent field (pp. 924-925).

Later Ward characterized the review as "an article entitled 'The Failure of Biological Sociology' in which the book was barely referred to and in which he classed me along with the biological sociologists, showing a complete 'failure' to understand them or me." *Glimpses of the Cosmos* (New York, 1913-1917), 6 vols., Vol. 5, pp. 22-23.

Chicago, Ill. July 23, 1894.

I hasten to reply that nothing in the universe with reference to amalgamation of Columbian with Chicago, will reduce the value of those degrees!<sup>1</sup> Dr. Harper has been invited to take the Presidency, but what will come of it remains doubtful. The idea is to build up Columbian along lines in which the location gives an advantage, and not try to duplicate, except in undergraduate work, what we do in Chicago.

I hope the publishers have sent you a copy of my primer before this. They promised to. Dr. Dike has just sent me some rather severe criticisms, which are no doubt just, though I do not admit their validity. I am like other sinners, ready to admit gross culpability in general, but "bad cess" to the man that dares to utter any charge of delinquency in particular!

<sup>1</sup>Due largely to Ward's initiative, Columbian (now George Washington) University established evening academic courses which Ward entered and on the basis of which he received his bachelor's degree in 1869. He completed an evening law course in 1871 and received a Master of Arts degree in 1872. He later taught courses at the university and sought for many years to stimulate sentiment for the transformation of Columbian into a national university.

Chicago, Ill. March 12, 1895.

I am reminded by the lecture schedule in which your name appears that I have been keeping your review of Kidd an unpardonable time. I will forward it at once. I read it carefully to my Seminar, and we accepted it with only an occasional caveat on non-essential turns of thoughts. I am reminded every day that in this absurd world nothing succeeds like success, and am consequently less disposed to bother myself much about popular judgments, but I can't help wondering whether the wise heads are to settle down to acquiescence in the estimate of Kidd apparent in the vogue of his book. His reputation seems to me one of the most humiliating freaks of book-readers' opinion that has occurred in the generation that put Mrs. Humphrey Ward on a pedestal and is now incoherently Trilby-mad. In the February *Nineteenth Century*, [Vol. 37, pp. 226-240] Kidd has made a very impotent reply to his critics, but in the last few pages of his article he has made a sagacious diagnosis of the case of the social sciences in England. As the situation is much the same all over the world, I have been greatly interested in his accounts. If you have not noticed Henry Holt's article in the Mar. *Forum*, you will be amused by his comments on the college instruction of his day (pp. 78-82) and the rational ordering of social instruction. Some of the light of day has struck him.

I have not had time to consider Giddings' last reply to Patten, in this No. of

the *Annals* ["Sociology and the Abstract Sciences: The Origin of the Social Feelings." American Academy of Political and Social Science *Annals*, Vol. 5 (March, 1895), pp. 746-753.] but his diagram on p. 96 has given me all the conundrums I can think out for the present. The classification that makes *chemistry* a "concrete" science, "descriptive, historical, inductive," and *physics*, an "abstract" science, "hypothetical and deductive" is surely wise beyond my comprehension. I am inclined to find refuge in an emendation of the proverb.—There be four things which are too wonderful for me, yea five which I know not: "The way of an eagle in the air; the way of a serpent upon a rock; the way of a ship in the midst of the sea; the way of a man with a maid; and the way of Patten and Giddings with branches of science that they know nothing about."

Chicago, Ill. April 6, 1895.

Some time ago one of Archbishop Ireland's assistants in St. Paul wrote me that he had been taking a class of young professional men (Catholics) through Small & Vincents *Introduction* and asking what to do next with the same people. I wrote him that the thing to do next was to take them through *Dynamic Sociology*, and that I hoped he would not be prevented from doing so by the difference between his point of view and that of the author. Shortly after he replied that he had taken my advice and was using the book with his flock. It seemed to me an extremely interesting phenomenon. The priest appears to be a German, and from people who know him I learn that he is about 45 years old. He tells me that the Archbishop proposes to introduce Small & Vincent into the Seminary at St. Paul for Priests. That thin edge of the wedge may prepare the way for something more effective. I would suggest that you put this Father

Busch on your list, and send him any of your papers which he would be likely to appreciate.

Chicago, Ill. *April 10, 1895.*

I had not noticed the editorial in the *Popular Science Monthly*, but the chances are 1000 to 1 that Giddings wrote it.<sup>1</sup> The references to himself are of such a nature that I am certain of it.

You were told by Dr. Chamberlain, I presume, that *The Institute of Christian Sociology* is the organization founded by Ely and practically wrecked by Herron last year. There was a general revolt against allowing Herron to speak for the members of the society.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Chamberlain seems to be a very level headed man. He is a retired Presbyterian (?) minister. He is not at all misled by the term *Christian S'y.*, and would prefer to drop the epithet, but on the whole it seems likely to make more trouble than it would avoid. I feel like giving Dr. C. all the support I can, although I have my serious doubts about the constituency which can be gathered, and about the results that can be reached. The aim is to make the *Churches* more effective social factors. The Herron faction imagines that the main reliance is the glorification of Christian sentiments. The majority understand with more or less distinctness that intelligence about social forces is the primary consideration, and they therefore want to build on Scientific Sociology. I hope you will consent to coöperate with them with the understanding that there is neither pre-scription nor pro-scription in the matter of free thought and speech.

My personal belief is that Christ's life was the most effective object-lesson in history as to the *quality* of rational human life, but that it showed comparatively little about the *processes*. Hence, no matter how extensive our resemblance to

Christ in disposition, we are as little equipped thereby for social service as the raw recruit with loyalty alone is for war. Other things being equal, honest Christians ought to be the best social functionaries. Therefore I am glad to help get social knowledge in circulation among them, even if I do not hope to get much help from them in enlarging knowledge.

<sup>1</sup> "Sociology in the Universities" *Popular Science Monthly*, Vol. 46 (March, 1895), pp. 698-9. After declaring "The new University of Chicago recognized the claims of such studies by putting Prof. Small whose teaching has been based in a good degree on the views set forth in Ward's *Dynamic Sociology*, in charge of a well-equipped department of social science," the article went on to say "Columbia College last year gave a new impetus to the movement by founding the first American University chair of sociology to be officially called by that name and by calling Prof. Giddings who holds that social ethics can never teach us what social relations ought to be until sociology has analysed and classified them as they are; discovered how, through an evolutionary process, they came to be as they are; and explained in terms of natural causation why they are what they are, and not in all respects what we might wish them to be."

<sup>2</sup> The Institute which had been organized at Chatauqua, New York, was primarily designed to furnish literature for the Christian Socialist movement in churches and colleges. Professor George D. Herron, who had occupied the chair of Applied Sociology at Iowa College, incurred the wrathful protests of the clergy against his criticisms of capitalism through the medium of the organization, although these criticisms were merely based on an evaluation of capitalism in terms of "Christian ethics" without reference to a political program. The Rev. L. T. Chamberlain who toured the country on behalf of a reorganization of the society along more academic lines solicited the help of Ward and other sociologists.

Ward's attitude toward the propriety of using the word Christian as applied to Sociology in the phrase Christian Sociology is reflected in his statement on the subject to the editors of *Bibliotheca Sacra* published at Oberlin, Ohio: "I am in the habit of considering Sociology a science, not a religion, cult or programme of action, and therefore "Christian Sociology" sounds to me about as would "Christian Mathematics," "Mohammedan Biology" or "Buddhistic Chemistry." If it is no better than Christian



Astronomy, Geology, and Geography used to be in the days when such things were recognized, it is a rather poor article. (*Bibliotheca Sacra*, Vol. LII (July, 1895), p. 482.) *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, Vol. 5, pp. 194-5

Chicago, Ill. May 25, 1895.

You know that Chicago men move rapidly when an idea once seizes them, and this has been the case with the trustees of our University. They have, almost upon the spur of the moment, authorized me to organize the instructors of my department into the editorial board of *The American Journal of Sociology*.<sup>1</sup> I need not enlarge upon my own sense of incompetency for such an undertaking, but I am sure that the time is ripe for a medium of exchange devoted exclusively to sociological thought, and I am willing to undertake the work of editorship.

Our wish is to bear the burden of publication and of organization of subject matter, but not to have an organ to exploit the particular doctrines taught at Chicago. I want the *Journal* to be as much at the disposal of any responsible thinker who has something to say, as it is open to the work of members of our own department. To that end I want to have associated with us as "advising editors" or "consulting editors"—(I have not yet made up my mind just what term should be used. I fear the term Associate Editors is on the one hand not sufficiently dignified to be appropriate, and on the other hand it is likely to convey the impression that the gentlemen so designated have more responsibility than they ought to be charged with for the contents of the paper).—At all events I wish to have the counsel of a number of men in this country and Europe, whose names will be a guarantee that the managing editors will attempt to live up to the highest standards of criticism. My pur-

pose is to make a journal that shall be primarily technical; which, however, shall have the technicalities so covered up in the case of most of its articles that people able to think comprehensively about social problems may find in it, regardless of their particular profession, some welcome assistance in maturing their judgments. The first number of the *Journal* is to appear about July 1st. I hope you will be willing to allow the use of your name under one of the designations suggested above, about which I wish you would express a preference, and I hope that whatever term is chosen, you will be willing to advise, counsel and criticise with as much freedom as though you were one of the local managers of the publication. I shall also hope that you will be able soon to contribute something to the pages of the *Journal*. Its financial existence is guaranteed by the University, although not with such generosity that any large expenditure is possible. As an evidence of good faith and as promise for the future, we propose to pay at the beginning the merely nominal sum of \$1.00 per page for all contributions made by writers not connected with the University. This munificent stipend will, of course, be a final argument in the case of all who might otherwise hesitate about becoming our contributors!

<sup>1</sup> Small's precipitance in this matter was partly provoked by the fact that one of Chamberlain's projects for his new organization was to issue a journal for the publication of articles on sociology. Chamberlain wrote indignantly to Ward: "It is at present an inexplicable mystery to me why he didn't consult me as representing the Institute, before he launched, or permitted the launching of, the *Journal of Sociology*." (Letter dated June 11, 1895). Small later attributed the founding of the *Journal* to an unexpected offer of President Harper to transfer a subsidy originally intended for a university extension magazine, to this purpose.

Chicago, Ill. June 4, 1895.

Your letter finds me on my return from a lecture trip, and I have just time for a word before starting for another train. I enclose letter from Dr. Chamberlain which I wish you would return with any comments which may seem to you pertinent.

About the *Introduction to Sociology*. I can think of nothing that would be more to the mutual advantage of the *Journal* and of your own gain as a further pioneer of Social Philosophy, than the publication of the *whole series*. That is precisely what the *Journal* ought to do to maintain its scientific character. As I said, or hinted, I wanted to run a lot of articles that can be read *easily*, by all people of trained intelligence, but I want them to be practically only bait to catch them for more solid and harder reading for which the *Journal* is primarily intended. Now I should particularly like, for reasons which you may guess, to have you get into the field with an *Introduction to Sociology* or the opening chapters of it before next Autumn. There are some people whom I might mention who appear to labor under the impression that they can get themselves credited with being the "original and only" Simon-pure Sociologists in this country. I don't feel that I shall lose anything that belongs to me if I make it very clear in all possible ways that I am *not* in that class. I am

quite as anxious for you to keep the place that belongs to you as I am for everybody else to get all due credit for acting on the impulse which you gave. In our conversations in New York, I found that the differences between my point of view and yours are perhaps more apparent and important than our points of agreement, but that doesn't make any difference. I want the *Journal*, as a means of getting 'conflicting' views where they can be compared and at last resolved into the most nearly correct. Now I wish you would let me have the first lecture at once, and I would like to have the others at the same time if you do not need them for reference at once in preparing the rest. I will announce a series of papers by you constituting an *Introduction to S'y.*, and we can mutually determine the number later.<sup>1</sup>

I shall hope to have a view of Mrs. Ward's autographs, but I confess I cannot repress a cynical smile at the thought of figuring in such company.

<sup>1</sup> This series was mainly the outcome of a course of lectures which Ward delivered at the School of Sociology of the Hartford (Conn.) Society for Education Extension in 1894 and 1895. The articles appeared uninterruptedly in twelve successive numbers of the *Journal* beginning with its first issue July, 1895 until May, 1897 and were later published in book form as *Outlines of Sociology* (New York, 1897).

THE SOCIAL WISDOM IN THE ANCIENT EGYPTIAN PRECEPTS<sup>1</sup>

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## I

ANCIENT Egypt offers the earliest existing documentary specimens of social thinking. A series of papyri, as well as a number of limestone tablets and monument inscriptions, some going back to the III dynasty are available. They provide a record of social thought, fragmentary, scattered, and incipient, to be sure, but sufficient to enable us to judge the scope and character of this archaic thought. We are limiting ourselves in this article to a rather brief survey of a very important block of Egyptian social writing, the lists of teachings, precepts, maxims, or admonitions.

A series of eleven books or lists of precepts, covering Egyptian life sporadically from the III dynasty (3190-3100 B.C.) to Ptolemaic times are at our disposal.<sup>1</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> The Ptolemaic dynasty began technically in 306 B.C. Translations of one or several of these lists in English, German, or French by such eminent scholars as Breasted, Petrie, Erman, Lauth, Brugsch-Bey, Maspero, Chabas, and Amélineux are available. Sir E. A. Wallis Budge has, however, rendered an excellent service by publishing his own superior translations in English of nine of these lists in his *The Teaching of Amen-em-apt*, London, 1924. Due to the quality and uniformity of the translations, and the convenience of having them together for purposes of comparison, his lists will be used throughout this study. For the translation of the Negative Confessions his *Book of the Dead*, London, 1898, pp. 188-196, will be used, and for the Ptolemaic Precepts, Isaac Myer, *Oldest Books in the World*, New York, 1900, pp. 451-453. The datings used throughout are those of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, which are increasingly being accepted as standard. While there has been some question as to the periods to which to assign the various ancient authors mentioned below, a considerable agreement has now been reached in most cases. Such generally accepted assignments are used herein.

first of these in chronological order are the five instructions of Kagemni, a vizier during the reign of King Huni, written ostensibly for his sons.<sup>2</sup> Next oldest is the list of 46 precepts of Ptah-hotep,<sup>3</sup> vizier of King Dedkere Isesi (c. 2883-2855 B.C.) of the V dynasty. This was used as a textbook for centuries afterwards. It is followed by the teachings of Tuaf, or Dawef of the VI dynasty (2853-2631 B.C.),<sup>4</sup> twenty-nine paragraphs by King Khati (or Ekhtai) of the IX or X dynasties (2500-2300 B.C.), King Amenemhat I (2212-2182 B.C.) of the XII dynasty,<sup>5</sup> twenty statements by Antef, a high official of King Usertsen I (2192-2147 B.C.),<sup>6</sup> and Sehetepabra, a prince and seal-bearer of Amenemhat III (2013-2004 B.C.), also of the XII dynasty.

The most extensive and comprehensive of all the collections of aphorisms, precepts, and admonitions is the Teaching of Amen-em-apt, a minister of agriculture, or Grain Scribe, of the XVIII dynasty (c. 1500 B.C.) amounting to some thirty chapters, 114 sections, and 551 lines.<sup>7</sup> It is the one book of teachings written for the benefit of all, and not primarily for a given scribe's

<sup>2</sup> Also known in the translations as Kegemne, Kaqemna, or Kakemna.

<sup>3</sup> Or Ptah-hotpu, Ptah-hetep, or Petah-hotep, depending upon the translator. The original texts of both the Precepts of Kagemni and Ptah-hotep are the Prisse Papyri in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and the Carnarvon Tablets in the British Museum.

<sup>4</sup> In British Museum Papyri, Nos. 10,182 and 10,222.

<sup>5</sup> Also from British Museum, No. 10,182.

<sup>6</sup> In the Prisse Papyrus and also in the form of a monument inscription, British Museum, No. 197.

<sup>7</sup> British Museum Papyrus, No. 10,474.



or vizier's sons, or for the official class. In our study we must also include two sets of moral and social declarations, known usually as the "Negative Confessions" that had accumulated since the XI or XII dynasties, and finally appeared in collected form in Book XXV of the texts of the "Book of the Dead" of the XVIII dynasty. The one list consists of thirty-seven and the other of forty-two declarations fully two-thirds of which have pointed significance for the student of social thought. These two sets are known respectively as A and B. This is followed in the XIX dynasty (c. 1350 B.C.) by the teachings of the Scribe Ani (or Any) for his son, a notable collection of sixty-eight precepts or paragraphs.<sup>8</sup> More than a thousand years later we have the Ptolemaic Precepts of the period of Greek supremacy in Egypt with twenty-five admonitions. These are apparently a set of survivals from the earlier period, since they show no new ideas whatsoever.

Naturally these lists are of unequal merit from our point of view. Of the eleven lists those richest in social thought are the teachings of Kagemni, Ptah-hotep, Khati, Amen-em-apt, Ani, the Negative Confessions, and the Ptolemaic Precepts. Of the authors of these various lists, two, Khati and Amenemhat, were kings and the remainder were officials or professional scribes or sages.

The faults of these lists are those that inhere in precepts generally as reflectors of social principles. In addition these, without exception, come only from the upper classes. But they are relatively abundant and contain a wealth of information that cannot be duplicated in any other ancient writings to which we now have access. They are based on centuries of wise obser-

vation and actual experiences in social life, and are the results of extensive selective processes. They are the conventional daily social philosophy of the wisest among the official body.

In the sociological analysis of these lists of precepts that follow we are confining ourselves to those statements dealing with or reflecting the nature of social relationships or social institutions, the requirements for social order or the principles of social policy; those recommending or advising against various types of social behavior or duties on the grounds of individual or group expediency; or those delineating individual qualities of social significance. The writer will indulge in almost no interpretation, and will be wary about theorizing or generalizing, the object being to subordinate these to fact, and let the concrete statements take the place of general comment.

Of approximately 400 precepts and maxims in the lists indicated above about 225 have been found to be quite pertinent to our study. The remaining 175 deal largely with duties to the gods or other religious obligations or ceremonial requirements, or are of such a nature that they have no clear sociological significance.

Part of the precepts are intended for those who are or will be rulers and deal pointedly with conduct desirable or essential among rulers; the greater proportion, however, are appropriate for people generally.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> While some of the precepts dealt with in this study are quoted and commented upon in some of the histories of ancient Egypt, there has been very little systematic comparative treatment. Some reference is made, especially to the Negative Confessions, in J. H. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, New York, 1912. In the two works by Budge and Myer, referred to above, some general comment is made in connection with the presentation of the texts. The only comprehensive effort at any kind of analysis known to the writer is in W. M. F.

<sup>8</sup> Papyrus of Bulak, No. 4, in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Also No. 10,470 in the British Museum.

## II

The old vizier Ptah-hotep of the V dynasty devotes six rather lengthy paragraphs of his list of 46 to the exposition of a set of very unideal but *very shrewd observations regarding the sort of behavior necessary to ingradiate oneself with superiors, how to make a favorable impression, how to flatter superiors, and how to gain the goodwill and approval of the common people*. "If thou art one of those who are sitting at table with a man who is greater than thyself, accept what he gives thee, what is set before thy nose. . . . Keep thy face turned downwards until he addresses thee, and speak only when he speaks to thee. Laugh when he laughs. That will be exceedingly pleasing to his mind. . . ." (VII)<sup>10</sup> "If thou art in the antechamber of a nobleman . . . abase thyself the first day. Press not forward lest thy being turned back should take place. Keep a keen watch on the confidential servant who announces thee. . . ." (XIV) "If thou art with common people make thyself like the peasant folk by concealing thy mind. The man who conceals his mind enjoys a good reputation. . . ." (XIV) "If thou art one to whom petitions are made, be courteous, and listen to the petition of the petitioner. Stop not his words, until he has poured out all that is in his heart and has said what he came to say. A man with a petition to make loves the official who will agree to what he says, and will

Petrie, *Religion and Conscience in Ancient Egypt*, London, 1898, pp. 110-163. This is exclusively from the moral point of view, and is not based on all the lists now available. This present study is the first sociological analysis and the first to include all of the lists not available.

<sup>10</sup> The numerals, Roman or Arabic, in parentheses, throughout this paper, refer to the numbers given to the precepts or paragraphs of precepts, depending on the practice for the given text, in the standard translations.

let him talk out his grievance fully. . . ." (XVII) "If thou seekest for friendship with a man, ask not for it, but go to his house and pay a visit with him alone, so that he may not be able to make his attitude to thee unpleasant. Talk wisely to him after a certain period. Find out what his mind is by conversing with him. If there comes up as a subject something that he has seen thee do, or if he does something that makes thee ashamed, hold thy peace or show thyself friendly to him; browbeat him not. Prepare an answer for him with words that will tell, answer not in a way that will irritate him; do not leave him. . . . His moment must not come. . . ." (XXXIII) ". . . Control thy mouth. . . . Make thyself to be wholly in accord with thy lord. . . . Concentrate thy mind at the time when thou art speaking and thou shalt make remarkable utterances and the princes who hear them shall say: 'Good, good are the things that come forth from his mouth.'" (Conclusion, VIII.)

Amen-em-apt has eleven precepts dealing with *behavior to superiors*. The intention throughout seems to be, first, peaceful relations with the superior; second, the good will and admiration of the superior; and, third, the possible good that may come to the actor at the hands of the superior. These admonitions are concerned with instructions respecting the proper way of greeting and conversing with the chief, the assumption of an attitude of humility in the presence of the chief, refraining from gluttony or even from eating in his presence, refusing to accept bribes from those in authority, avoiding commands to superiors and refraining from repeating conversations with superiors or from cursing them. (XLII, L, LI-LIII, LXXIX, XCIV, XCVIII, CII, CIV, CVIII) The keen knowledge of human nature and the technique of the fine

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art of smoothly flattering people and cultivating their good will and at the same time taking care of "number one" is evidenced in the following passages. "Keep well thy tongue in making an answer to him that is thy chief, at the same time guarding thyself against reviling him. Never permit his speech to fall on thee like a lasso so that thou must uncoil it by means of thy answer. Put answers to him answering like a subordinate in thy agitation. At the same time taking good heed not to oppose him." (XLII) "Be thou a creature of nought in the presence of thy chief. Thou shalt acclaim him humbly in thy speech. Thy adulatory remarks, they shall meet and turn aside his cursings. Thy homage . . . shall disarm his violence." (L) "If thou seest a man who is greater than thyself, . . . follow after him and greet him with words of respect." (CIV)

Ani states: "Sit not whilst another man stands, if he be older than thyself, or if he has attained to a higher grade in his profession than thyself." (XXVIII) "Answer not a man in authority over thee when he is wroth. . . . Speak thou that which is sweet is when he speaks words that are bitter, and pacify his heart." (LIX) "Keep on friendly terms with the administrative officer of thy district, and give him no opportunity of bringing a charge against thee . . . do not set aside his request. Say to him words of approval. . . ." (LXIII) In this same connection it is stated in the Ptolemaic Precepts, "Do not establish thy tomb above those who command thee and of him who giveth thee orders." (V) "Do not make sport of an old man, thy superior." (XXc)

Old Kagemni offers as a general policy *the desirability of conforming to the action of the other person as a means of maintaining his good favor*. "If thou art seated at meat

with a greedy man eat thou when he has finished his meal; and if thou art seated at meat with a winebibber accept thou a drink whenever it pleases him to offer thee one. Reject not the pieces of flesh. . . . Take what he offers thee, and refuse it not; remember acceptance conduces to gentleness on his part." (III)

Ptahhotep gives *special advice* of a somewhat Machiavellian nature *to those who will have to assume leadership*. "If thou art in the position of a leader, press forward thy plans by thy commands; do what thou hast decided upon. But remember the days that are to follow. If there be no word on thy behalf among those who are praised, calamity will overwhelm thee and misery will overtake thee." (XVI) Ani believes that there is little difference between the leader and the rest of the flock. (LII) Ptah-hotep and Amen-em-apt both admonish wise behavior in the Council, Amen-em-apt's statements possibly having been suggested by those of Ptah-hotep. Ptah-hotep states: "If thou art in the position of a man of high rank who sits in the council of his lord, devote thy heart entirely to what is good . . . , hold thy peace. . . . Speak only when thou knowest a matter and canst explain it. . . ." (XXIV) Amen-em-apt similarly says, "Be not continually rising up and sitting down whilst thou art making thy answer; thy testimonies must support themselves. Make no altercation with the supporters of a lord. . . . Speak the truth in the presence of the President. . . . Watch carefully, so that thou mayest come back on a second occasion." (LXXVII) Amen-em-apt also emphasizes the importance as an official of not tampering with the Courts of Law (LXXVIII) and of knowing how to handle men (XCIII). King Khati advises his son to have young men be continually trained as soldiers and



to keep his armies full, because if his borders are safe the land will flourish. (XIV)

Kagemni stresses the fact that one should not hide one's light under a bushel, but the display of the light should be discreet and circumspect. "Make thy name to come forth. Being modest in thy speech, thou shalt be proclaimed." (IV) Amen-em-apt believes that a good name, the good wishes of one's fellowmen, and a kindly disposition are better than great riches. (LXII)

*Modesty and humility* are quite generally advocated. Kagemni states in his very first teaching, "The timid man is strong, and he who is just in word and deed is praised. The hall is opened to the humble man, and a wide room is given to him that is gentle in speech; but sharp knives are against him that would force a way. . . ."

(I) Prah-hotep admonishes his son not to be conceited or too sure of himself; excellent abilities are found where least expected. "Magnify not thy heart because of thy knowledge, and fill not thy heart with the thought about it because thou hast knowledge. Hold converse with the ignorant man as well as with the learned. No limit has been set to a handicraft, and no craftsman is equipped with all its excellences. Fine speech is hidden deeper than mother-of-emerald stone, and yet it is to be found among the women who grind flour at the mill." (I) "Be not haughty in thy heart, lest it be humbled." (XXV) He also admonishes people who have achieved fame and success after having been poor and humble not to forget their former station (XXX); he advises all people to be properly reverent to their superiors and those upon whom they are dependent. (XXXI) Tuauuf advocates modesty in speech: "Speak not words of pride and arrogance. . . ." (XXII) Amen-em-apt suggests modesty

but not reticence: "Never run with swift steps to attain that which will be advantageous to thee, on the other hand never create the circumstances that will destroy it." (XCII) Similarly it was good for the individual to confess to Osiris "I have not sought for distinctions." (Neg. Conf., B, 40).

Amen-em-apt devotes several precepts to a *discussion of chattering and hotheads*, admonishing people to avoid them as far as possible. The underlying implication is that they are a source of harmful suggestion and also that association with them creates a bad reputation. "The fiery, hot-headed man— . . . He shrieks imprecations, his voice soars upwards into the heights of heaven, the god Aāhu (the Moon god) stands still in his course, and holds him to be an abomination." (VI) "The noisy, hot-headed man when his rage is greatest, Turn thyself aside from before him. . . ." (VIII) "The talk and action of the noisy, hot-headed man all comes to nought in the end." (X) "Make not to be a friend of thine the hasty, hot-headed man, even though thou hast to go to his house frequently to have speech with him." (XLI) "Make no undertaking in company with the noisy, hot-headed man. . . ." (LV)

*Temperance and moderation in eating and drinking* are presented as eminently desirable forms of behavior. Kagemni, in an almost ascetic attitude, states, "If thou art seated at meat with many people abstain from the food which thou lovest. It is only a minute's restraint of the appetite, and greediness is a disgrace and tends to gluttony. . . . He who is intent on satisfying the lust of the belly is a shameful person." (II) Tuauuf advises against over-eating. (XXV) Amen-em-apt implores, "Make no undue haste to sing the praises of the wine cup." (CXI) Ani stresses the unwise and even dangerous

things one may do while under the influence of liquor. "Undertake nothing as the result of having drunk beer, for if thou dost, words which can have a second meaning may come forth from thy mouth without thy knowing it. When thou fallest down and breakest thy bones there will be no one there to help thee. Thy boon companions will stand up and say, 'Away with this drunken beast!' When people come to have speech with thee they will find thee lying prostrate on the ground, and thou wilt be as helpless as a little child." (XIII)

Quite a number of precepts fall under the heading of *requirements for judicious conduct*. Kagemni says, "Take care to act in such a way that people do not oppose thee. . . ." (V) Ptah-hotep points out the disadvantages of approaching people at the wrong time. (XXVI) Amen-em-apt gives various bits of advice along this line: Do not retaliate for an injury if you can reply orally. (IV) Three precepts warn against falsifying the rolls (LVIII, LIX, LXXXII) . . . Another states, "Remember not too exactly the antecedents of a man when thou art striving to seek his help." (LXIII) Another points to the advisability of protecting or standing by "the man in thine own town." (LXXXV) Recognizing both the importance of secrecy and the ease with which information spreads and becomes distorted he says, "Make not thy words to circulate among the common folk." (XC) The Negative Confessions deal also with conduct that is discreet. "I have not brought forth my name for exaltation to honors" (A, 6); "I have never pried into matters to make mischief" (B, 16); "I have not judged hastily" (B, 31). Ani advises us, first, not to scrutinize our neighbor's behavior too closely (VI); secondly, to keep away from strange places (XIV); thirdly, "Let not thy heart be exalted before the flatterer"

(XXXVII); and, fourth, "Go not into a crowd of people if thou findest that thou art stirred up to fight in the presence of men who are about to strike each other." (L)

Special attention is devoted to *the importance of wise and sensible speech and the avoidance of frivolous, foolish speech and slander, gossip and malicious talk*. Ptah-hotep recommends silence whenever someone else "is speaking evil things" for "Those who are listening will applaud him, but thy name will be fair in the opinion of the princes." (III) In another he states, ". . . Make respect for thyself to spread with understanding and with gentleness of speech. Command not except when thou canst guide. . . . Keep not silence entirely, take care as to the path thou treadest." (XXV) Tuauuf believes in asking few questions of any kind, but particularly to guard against asking foolish ones. (XXI) Amen-em-apt says "Keep thy tongue from speech of lying or slander." (XXXIV) Hear no evil; speak no evil: "I beseech thee to spread with thy tongue only the report of that which is good upon the earth, whilst as far as reports of evil are concerned, hide them in thy belly." (XL) Again he says, with striking figures, "The word that is uttered by a man with malicious intent is swifter to hurt than the wind that precedes the storm. . . . He gives utterance to strings of words that carry destruction in them. . . . He loads the boat with the discourse of iniquity, he makes himself the ferryman of him that catches men in a net of words. . . . He causes men and women to become enemies by his scandal-mongering. . . . His lips are date-syrup, his tongue is a deadly dagger. . . ." (XLIII) "God hates the man who utters frivolous, lying speech." (XLVIII) "Better is it for a man to keep his information in his belly, than to publish it abroad with the addi-

tion of lies." (XCI) In the second list (B) of the Negative Confessions we read, "I have not uttered falsehood" (9); "I have not uttered evil words" (11); "I have not set my mouth in motion against anyone" (17); "I have not multiplied my speech overmuch" (33); "I have not made haughty my voice." (37) Ani teaches, "Multiply not thy words. . . . Make thyself no mere tongue-wagger." (X) "Make use of no evil speech towards anyone who comes; a word dropped on the day of thy gossiping may turn thy house upside down." (XXXII) In one precept he emphasizes the advantage of kindly words: "When thy words are such as to be restful for the heart, the heart inclines itself gladly to receive them." (LXII)

The *avoidance of bad company* is quite generally recommended, for, as Amen-em-apt puts it, "If thou sailest with a robber thou wilt be left in the stream." (XXIX) In the Negative Confessions the individual cries out, "I have had no knowledge of worthless men." (A, 4) Ani warns against being in the presence of a drunken man. (VI) He begs the hearer or reader to "Take good heed to avoid the man of evil speech. . . . Keep thyself far from men who act crookedly, and make none of them thy companion," (XVII) and also to beware of flatterers. (XXXIV) In the Ptolemaic Precepts we read: "Make not a wicked man thy companion" (III); "Act not according to the counsels of a fool" (IV); "Walk not with one of foolish mind" (XXI); and "Stop not to hear his words." (XXII) Amen-em-apt twice warns also against being in bad places, especially food stores and beer houses. "Do not acquire the habit of passing the day in eating-houses and places where roasted meat is sold. Do not acquire the habit of passing the day in tasting one pot of beer after another. Those who pass their whole time at the food-store become

tomorrow merely victuals." (XXII) Later on he states again, "Accustom not thyself to sit in the beer-house." (CI)

The attitude of the ancient Egyptians with respect to what they considered to be *actual anti-social acts in personal relationships* is reflected in the two lists of Negative Confessions. Twenty-three of the confessions concern such acts. In the A list we note: "I have not done evil to mankind" (1); "I have not made to be the first consideration of each day that excessive labor should be performed for me" (5); "I have not caused illness" (12); "I have not caused hunger" (13); "I have not made to weep" (14); "I have not done murder" (15); "I have not given the order for murder to be done for me" (16); "I have not inflicted pain upon mankind" (17); "I have not committed fornication" (18). In the B list the following are significant: "I have not done iniquity" (1); "I have not robbed with violence" (2); "I have not done violence to any man" (3 and 30); "I have not slain man or woman" (5); "I have not acted deceitfully" (7 and 14); "I have attacked no man" (12); "I have not struck fear into any man" (21); "I have made no man to weep" (26); "I have abused no man" (29); "I have not worked wickedness" (34); "I have not behaved with insolence" (39). In the Ptolemaic Precepts are found the admonitions: "Kill not" (II); "Save not thy life at the expense of another's" (XII); and "Do not pervert the heart of thy acquaintance if it is pure" (XXIII).

Several lists include precepts that unmistakably deal with *justice, with special reference to its administration*. Ptah-hotep points out that the leader must be truthful and honest: "If thou art in the position of a leader and it is thy duty to give orders to a great number of people, pursue thou a course which is wholly excellent, and continue in it until there is no defect whatso-

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ever in thy administration. Truth is great, and her virtue is lasting, and she has never been overthrown since the time of Osiris. . . ." (V) He recommends impartiality in a later precept: "If thou . . . art chosen to go on a mission to make tranquil the multitude, search out the matter with strict justice, and declare thy finding, taking no side." (XXVIII) Khati advises his son to deal in a summary manner with an unjust and disloyal administrator. (V) He presents in some detail the nature of a just administration. "Do the right, and thou shalt continue upon the earth. Make the weeper to cease his plaint. Fleece not the widow woman. Drive no man away from the property of his father. Defraud not the princes by removing them from their hereditary offices. Take good heed not to inflict punishment unjustly. Slay none unnecessarily; it will not be profitable for thee. Inflict punishment by means of beatings and putting men under restraint; through treatment of this kind this land shall have a sure foundation." (XII) Khati also pleads for impartiality: "Make no distinction in thy behavior towards the son of a man of rank and the son of a man of humble parentage. . . ." (XV) Antef, the governor, says of himself: "I am a good one in the courts when cases are being tried, equable of mind, free from words, or acts, that irritate" (15); "I am a man of justice, like the scales, impartial. . . ." (17). Amen-em-apt admonishes against accepting bribes: "Accept not a bribe from a man of power and authority if thou art to treat wrongfully for him the poor man in distress." (LXXIX)

*Cheerfulness, helpfulness to fellows, and friendliness* is also looked upon as desirable by these ancient social thinkers. Prah-hotep says, "Let thy face shine with cheerfulness as long as thou livest. . . . Do not let any man approach thee and find thee

with a gloomy face. A man wishes to remember what is pleasant in the years that he has yet to live." (XXXIV) Amen-em-apt states, "If thou seest another man stumbling from time to time, go with him and enable him to continue on his way." (LXIX) He goes so far as to advocate the loving of one's enemies when he states, "Show thyself friendly to the man for whom thou hast antipathy." (CIII) Ani counsels, "Be friendly and associate thyself with one who is just and true, when thou hast observed the manner in which he acts" (XVIII), and in the Ptolemaic Precepts we are reminded, "Take not a haughty attitude." (XXIV)

*Character, purity, truth, and self-control are essential individual qualities.* Prah-hotep reminds the young man, "Thy character is more than thy friends. . . it is greater than a man's valuable possessions. . . . It is an excellent thing for the son of a man to have a good character." (XXXV) Amen-em-apt advises not to distort the truth. (LIX) In the B list of Negative Confessions we hear the cries: "I have not given away to wrath concerning myself without a cause" (18); "I have not committed any sin against purity" (20); "I have not been a man of anger" (23); "I have not made myself deaf to the words of right and truth" (24); "I have not committed acts of impurity" (26).

### III

Several groups of precepts deal with economic relations. One group is concerned with *economic well-being, its social importance, its acquisition, and the desirability of having it for all alike.* Khati writes for his son, ". . . Treat thy people well. Make the boundaries of thy country to flourish. . . . It is a good thing to make provision for those who are to come after. . . . The man who has nothing is greedy for the property of others." (X) Again he

writes, "Make great (wealthy) thy princes and they will carry out thy laws. The man who possesses wealth in his house favors no man; the man with possessions has no need of bribes. The poor man does not say what it would be right for him to say, and the man who says, 'I would have more,' is not trustworthy for he will favor the side that will bribe him." (XI) Ani stresses the importance of developing an estate and even goes into some detail regarding the use of its different parts. (XXIV) In another precept he advises giving to the hungry. You never know when you will be poor yourself. "Eat not bread whilst another stands by hungry and thou dost not stretch out thy hand to him with bread in it. It has never been known whether a man will become destitute. One man has riches and another man is poor. . . . The man who was rich a year ago is a stable servant this year." (XLII)

One famous precept in Ptah-hotep centers around both the idea of the stewardship of wealth and gratefulness for the chance favors of Providence. "If thou hast become great, having been once in a very lowly state, and if thou hast acquired possessions, having been at one time in a state of destitution . . . forget not that which happened to thee in the times that are past. Set not thy heart's confidence on thy goods, which have, after all, only come to thee as gifts of God. Thou wouldst not be superior to any other man if what has happened to thee had happened to him." (XXX) In three of his precepts Amen-em-apt deals with the folly of avariciousness and covetousness. "Commit not an act of avariciousness so that thou mayest obtain additional wealth." (XII) Again he says, "Fashion not thy heart in such wise that it hankers after things of wealth. . . . Let not thyself abandon thy heart to the things that are

extraneous." (XXV) In a third he advises against coveting wealth; it is a fetter that makes a man stumble; gold so easily turns to lead. (LXX)

A considerable number of precepts deal with *miscellaneous duties regarding property*. Thus Amen-em-apt admonishes against encroachment on the dykes of the temple lands (XI); against cheating the widows and helpless men out of their land "when assessing the bounds of the estate" (XVII); against "treading down the boundaries of the fields" (XVIII); against encroaching upon the adjoining fields when ploughing and thus adding to one's own (XX and XXI); against the receipt of stolen goods (XXVII); against the falsification of the scales, the weights or the measuring rod (LXX, LXXIII). In the A list of Negative Confessions we read, "I have not diminished the bushel" (23), "filched away the land" (24), "encroached upon the fields of others" (25), "added to the weights of the scales to cheat the seller" (26), "mis-read the pointer scales to cheat the buyer" (27), "turned back the water at the times when it should flow" (32), or "cut a cutting in a canal of running water" (33). In the B list it is stated, "I have not committed theft" (4), "made light the bushel" (6), "carried away food" (10), "laid waste the lands which have been ploughed" (15), or "increased my wealth, except with such things as are justly mine own possessions" (41). Ani advises not to waste goods on a stranger (XIX), not to try to alienate another's slave (XXIII), and to avoid trespass and tampering with title deeds (LI).

Surprisingly few *family duties* are mentioned in view of the fact that the precepts deal so largely with primary group relations. The few we do have are given a prominent place, however, and cover the essential duties rather fully. Ptah-hotep in a striking paragraph points to the desir-

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ability of having a son and then expresses a philosophy of stern justice. "If thou wouldst be a perfect man and dost possess a house and estate, beget a son. . . . If he does what is right, and if he imitates thee in thy actions, and hearkens to thy teaching, and his behaving is perfect in thy house, and he cares for thy property as if it was his own, seek thou for him every kind of honor. He is thy son whom thy heart's desire has begotten; let not thy heart drift away from him. . . . But if he follows an evil course, and opposes thy plans, and does not carry out thy instructions, and his behavior in thy house is detestable, and he treats with contempt all thy words, and sets his mouth in motion with vile words, and his face is turned away, and nothing remains in his hands, cast him away, for he is no son of thine, and he was not born for thee." (XII) In an equally striking one, discussing marriage and the treatment of the wife, he says, "If thou wouldst be wise or prosperous get married. Love thou thy wife . . . wholly and rightly. Fill her belly and clothe her back; oil for anointing is the medicine for her limbs. Make her heart to rejoice as long as thou livest; she is a profitable field for her lord. Enter not into disputes with her. . . . Make her prosper permanently in thy house." (XXI)<sup>11</sup> In another he points out that if one would have trusted servants one must be just and liberal with them. (XXII) We find in the Negative Confessions the statement, "I have not oppressed the members of my family." (A, 2)

Ani, in the spirit of old Ptah-hotep, though varying slightly in essentials, also points to the importance of having a son. "Marry a wife whilst thou art a young man; she will produce thy son. If thou dost produce thy son whilst thou art still

young, thou will be able to train him to become a proper man. Good it is for a man if his posterity are numerous, and he will be applauded by reason for his children." (I)

In another long but pointed passage Ani presents the obligations one owes to one's mother. "Increase the breadcakes which thou givest to thy mother, and carry her as she carried thee. She carried thee as a heavy load many times. . . . When she brought thee forth after thy months, she set thee like a veritable yoke upon her neck, and her breasts were in thy mouth for three years. Whilst thou wast growing, disgusting in thy excrement, she felt not disgust at thee. . . . Afterwards she placed thee in the school, and whilst thou wast being taught thy letters, she came to thee there day by day, regularly and unfailingly, with breadcakes and beer from her house. When thou art a young man, and dost marry a wife, and act the master and possessor of a house, I pray thee look back at thine own childhood and how thou wast reared, and do for the child that shall be born to thee everything that thy mother did for thee. Let it not happen that she has cause to blame thee. . . ." (XLI) He deals in a knowing manner in another precept with the folly of interfering with a married woman's conducting of her home. "Attempt not to direct a married woman in her house when thou knowest that she is a perfect housewife. Say not to her, 'Where is that? Bring it to us,' when she has put the object in the proper place. Make thine eye to watch her, and hold thy peace, and then thou wilt be able to appreciate her wise and good management. Happy wilt thou be if thou art hand in hand with her. There are very many men who do not understand this. The interfering man only sets confusion in his house, and never finds himself the actual master thereof in all

<sup>11</sup> See also XXXVII.

matters in reality." (LVII) In the Ptolemaic Precepts we also read, "Let not bitterness penetrate into the heart of thy mother" (I), and "Let it not happen that thou maltreat thy wife whose strength is less than thine; let her find in thee her protector" (VIII). Regarding the treatment of a son the Ptolemaic Precepts also advise, "Do not maltreat thy child, he is feeble, lend him thy aid" (XIV), and "Abandon him not to any other of thy sons who is stronger and more courageous" (XV).

Several other precepts deal with *sex relations that ought to be avoided*. Ptah-hotep warns against entering into entangling alliances with the women in the homes of one's friends (XVIII) and also states, "Have no intercourse with a woman-child" (XXXII). Amen-em-apt says "Avoid the beautiful singing woman" (LXX) and also warns against the wiles of widows (CX). In one of the Negative Confessions we find the cry, "I have not defiled the wife of a man" (B, 19). In Ani we find a teaching regarding the prostitute and the married charmer that has influenced proverbial literature elsewhere. "Guard thyself well against the woman from the outer district who is not known in her town. Cast no longing glances after her as do those who are like to her, and have no carnal intercourse or other relation with her. She is a deep ditch, and where her currents will lead no man knows. When a woman, whose husband is absent from her, shows her beauty and invites thee to her every day, saying that there are no witnesses present, and puts her net in position to snare thee, it is a great, abominable deed deserving the death penalty for a man to hearken to her, even if she has not succeeded in her object. . . . Yet men will commit abominable deeds in order to gratify this one passion." (VIII) Feeling that the counsels of a

woman are unsound Ani states, "Follow not the counsels of a woman, and let her not lead captive thy understanding."

(LVIII) In the Ptolemaic Precepts we find the instruction, "Let not thy son be familiar with a married woman." (XVIII)

Among the most frequently mentioned duties of all in these lists of precepts are those having to do with *the treatment of inferiors and unfortunates*. Ptah-hotep warns against trying to kick down the humble man who has "made good" (X) and also admonishes his fellows, "Rob not the house of the peasants. . . . If he (the chief) knows it he will be hostile to thee." (XXXI) Antef says, "I am a friend toward those who are in a lowly condition, and to the man who has nothing my just dealing is sweet." (9) "I am the food of the hungry man who has no possessions, and open-handed to the destitute." (10) "I act as the man of knowledge for him that is ignorant, and I teach a man that which will be beneficial for him." (11) Amen-em-apt repeatedly instructs on this subject. He warns against plundering the poor or mistreating the destitute. (I) Do not talk down to the aged. (II) He insists on showing kindness to people of humble condition. (XXXV) Be dignified in the presence of the lower classes. (XLVII) As a kindness to him relieve the poor man of part of his hidden treasure. (LXI) Do not laugh at the blind man or the dwarf, frustrate the lame man, or irritate the injured man by praising the man who wronged him. (XCIX) With Ani (VI), Amen-em-apt also would aid the old man when drunk. (CV) In the A list of Negative Confessions we read, "I have not ill-treated servants" (7), "defrauded the oppressed one of his property" (9), "caused harm to be done to the servant by his chief" (11), "carried away the milk from the mouths of children" (28), or "driven away the children which were upon their

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pastures" (29). Finally in the Ptolemaic Precepts it is stated, "Let it not happen that thou maltreat an inferior, and there will come to thee the respect of the venerable." (VII) "Take not away the pleasure of those dependent upon thee." (XVII)

One finds in these lists, as in almost all ancient instructional materials, definite warnings against in any way modifying these precepts, specific admonitions to perpetuate them, and a rather lengthy array of statements pointing out the advantages to be enjoyed by those who scrupulously observe them. Prah-hotep appends nine rather sizeable paragraphs to his list of precepts conveying these ideas. Among the phrases that one notes immediately are: "It is the Teaching that a man should hand on when speaking to his posterity" (I); "Everyone who has heard is an excellent person, and it is an excellent thing for him who has already heard to hear more" (II); "Calamity overtakes the son who will not hear" (III); "Suppress no word in this book, and add nothing to it, and set not one thing in the place of another" (VII).

Khati points out that for him who imitates his ancestors and accepts the precepts "Truth comes to him in a well rubbed-down state in the form of the sayings of the ancestors." (VIII and IX) Amen-em-apt gives a detailed list of the special proficiencies acquired by a knowledge of the precepts and the disadvantages flowing from their violation. (*Int.* Lines 1-12, 46-58) Sehetepabra says at the end of his list, "Do these things and your bodies shall be strong and healthy, and they shall prove of benefit to you for ever and ever." Ani repeats the thoughts of his predecessors. (XXXVI)

#### IV

Certain more or less obvious conclusions can be set forth.

1. Each succeeding set of precepts shows similarity to the earlier ones, but also usually incorporates some necessary additional ideas. Path-hotep sets the pace and establishes a set of principles. Subsequent writers pay all honor to their predecessors, but also perceiving that the older precepts do not supply advice on every important subject proceed to add some supplementary admonitions.<sup>12</sup> By the time we get to the Ptolemaic Precepts, however, we find not a single unique idea expressed. This considerable similarity of the precepts of the different lists is due partly, undoubtedly, to transmission from generation to generation and borrowing by the subsequent writers, but also to the fact that the great bulk of the precepts deal with universal and omnipresent aspects of social relationships in a stratified society that are not seriously affected by the succession of eras. It has probably occurred to the reader that many of the precepts in these lists are as apt and as effective in producing the anticipated result today as they must have been 4500 years ago.

2. In view of the fact that all of the important lists were written by 1350 B.C., they show a high development of practical wisdom, social analysis, wit, versatility, and administrative adeptness at a relatively early date.

3. They reflect a strictly utilitarian, though by no means inhumane, social philosophy. They combine shrewd pragmatism and opportunism with a very superior conception of justice. They are the earliest written expressions of worldly wisdom in organized groups, excepting a few fragments of Babylonian aphorisms and admonitions found in the Library of Ashurbanipal, which may go back to a

<sup>12</sup> Cf. E. A. W. Budge, *The Literature of the Egyptians*, London, 1914, p. 228.

much earlier date.<sup>13</sup> They inculcate proper behavior to superiors and inferiors, official and personal, to people generally, and to property, because it is worthwhile for the individual to do so. The individual is admonished to act appropriately in a social way because in so doing he will be able to "get on," people will like him and respect him, and recognition and promotion will come to him; the lower classes will give him their goodwill and support. There is no very clear expression of social rightness for the sake of society's order. The reasons given for right action are so often "It is profitable," or it gains the doer a "good name." The highest piece of commendation the official could inscribe on his tomb was, "I did that which all men approved." The politic or expedient procedure is usually the desirable and recommended one. At the same time some purely humanitarian and disinterested motives are also in evidence. There are *many* things that it is *well* to do; there are *some* duties that *must* be performed in the interests of mercy,

<sup>13</sup> Cf. M. Jastrow, *Civilization of Babylonian and Assyria*, Philadelphia, 1915, pp. 461-462; E. A. W. Budge, *Babylonian Life and History*, New York, 1926, pp. 153-155.

justice, social order, and general well-being.

4. The point of view underlying that behavior most clearly redounding to the benefit of the group as a whole is that of the individual, however, throughout these precepts. The spirit and motive are egoistic or egocentric, and not impersonally social. The only clear variation from the individual point of view is the occasional precept in which that of the class predominates.

5. The wisdom is almost entirely practical and concrete. There is little probing into the inner nature of things. The philosophical or speculative and the scientific or causal aspects of events and behavior are not touched upon. In the discussions of justice, for example, there is no devotion to the abstract elements, no elaborating of the nature of justice; the discussion is confined almost entirely to the necessity of justice and to its administration.

6. Finally, these precepts show a keen knowledge of human nature and the essentials of the fine art of living comfortably and prosperously in the primary group. In this respect also they are highly valuable case material.

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## THE WAY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE AND HISTORY TEACHING IN HITLER'S GERMANY

ORON JAMES HALE<sup>1</sup>*University of Virginia*

SINCE the advent of the Hitler régime in Germany it would appear that almost every phase of collective and individual activity has been "coördinated" with the political ideals and social objectives of the party program. The machinery of the school system has already been thoroughly subjected to the magic process of *Gleichschaltung*, but reform of the curriculum has only recently been taken in hand. In a recent radio address, Dr. Haupt, adviser in the ministry of education and religion, delivered a sweeping attack upon the educational aims of the liberal republican era and outlined a new program to conform to the needs of the German Fascist state. Paramount in this project is the complete transformation of the social science and citizenship courses in the German public schools. History, as the cornerstone of all such instruction, is the first subject to be reorganized. In its broadest aspect, the new program for history and the social sciences aims at the suppression of older liberal concepts, which heretofore motivated instruction in these subjects, and substitutes a set of conventions based upon a new and, in most points, utterly false interpretation of political and cultural development.

The liberal paraphernalia of discrimination, tolerance, and objectivity is now thrown on the scrap heap. With one accord National Socialist "educators" declare the fundamental purpose of history to be the cultivation of national consciousness and development of an appreciation of the heroic. Hitler, himself, in a recent

declaration on the Government's policy, stated that "The veneration of great men must be again hammered into the German youth as a great legacy. In all fields of our historical and cultural life the bridge from this past to the future must be built." Likewise, Dr. Rust, minister of education and religion, says: "It is not so important that a student know the plan of campaign of the battle of Salamis, but it is important that the heroic spirit be comprehended and that the living meaning of Salamis be restored." The heroic ideal is to be revived not only in the history of national development, but also in the field of cultural history which is to be portrayed in its national rather than in its international aspects. Hitler, in his digest and history of National Socialism, *Mein Kampf*, declares that an inventor is not to be honored simply as a great inventor, but must be portrayed as still a greater German; the greatest names in German history are to be sought out and presented to the students in such a manner that they become the real pillars of an unshakeable national feeling. This will assure that "the young man when he leaves school is not a half pacifist, democrat, or what not, but a complete German."

In the new history there is now no place for the liberal concept of objectivity. It is banned both as a quality to be encouraged in the pupil and as an ideal in historical instruction. "One poisons not only the child's heart with the curse of our objectivity," says Hitler, "but also the things pertaining to the preservation of our own ego." Naturally the leader of the National Socialist movement con-

<sup>1</sup> Fellow of the Social Science Research Council, 1932-33.

demns any concept or procedure tending to make German youth anything other than blindly obedient. According to another writer the new education is to free the young people from the curse of instability resulting from overemphasis on objectivity. It is to set before them "an ideal in conformity with their inner beings—the picture of the hero appearing as the protector of his community."

As a matter of course, the suppression of critical objectivity and the blind worship of the strong and successful among individuals leads to the exaltation of the same qualities in the national state. Benno Schneider, writing on "History Instruction in the New State," frankly declares that German youth has lost faith in the ideals of rational liberalism; that in spite of all talk of progress and humanity it has perceived that the struggle for power is the strongest moving force among nations, and that those nations which have been most successful in this struggle proclaim most loudly the ideals of peaceful competition, reconciliation of peoples, and disarmament. "We believe, however," the writer continues, "that in the circle of nations only those flourish which are most strongly conscious of their economic, social, and racial structure, and in the consciousness of these values are ready to stake everything for them. . . . When the naked truth in history prevails the youth will see that the fundamental law of all strong peoples is and was: To prevail at all costs, right or wrong!"

Along with the exaltation of the heroic in the individual and of power in the state the National Socialist ideology enthrones the concept of race and blood. That the Nordic or Germanic peoples were the originators and carriers of European civilization is an article of faith with all the believers. Racial conflict, racial dominance, and racial defeat are the bases for

the National Socialist interpretation of all history. Hitler, in his political testament, says: "It is the duty of a racial state to provide that at last a world history is written in which the racial question is raised to the dominant position." *Blut und Boden* (Blood and Soil). This is the stereotype which conveys the idea of a racially homogeneous folk rooted in the soil of the Fatherland.

It is, of course, impossible to introduce these ideas immediately into the schools without a complete change of textbooks. According to the minister of the interior, Dr. Frick, new textbooks are being prepared, but they will not be ready for distribution before 1935. In the meantime, however, instructions have been sent to all the state ministers of education, setting forth certain principles and ideas which must underlie and motivate the teaching of history in the public schools. According to the proclamation, which is issued by Dr. Frick, the following general principles are to be observed: First, greater emphasis must be placed upon the prehistoric period of the Germanic peoples in order to combat the conventional undervaluation of the cultural level of the early Germans. Second, from the prehistoric period to the present the importance of race must be emphasized, since it represents the original ground from which grew all individual and national peculiarities. Third, the national conception must prevail over the international, for the German soul is particularly susceptible to this insidious poison which has threatened the existence of the nation for over a hundred years. Fourth, the history taught shall embrace all Germans, including those who live today outside the political boundaries of the state. Fifth, German expansion and colonization during the Middle Ages is to be emphasized. Here, Dr. Frick points out that even before the Germanic

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migrations the country between the Elbe and the Vistula was German national territory at a time "when the Slavic peoples still lived as poor fisher folk in the Pripet swamps." Sixth, with the beginning of the modern period international influences made themselves felt in an ever growing measure, leading to a deplorable "foreignization" of German blood, German language, German law, and the German conception of the state. Seventh, in opposition to the international influences, the development of German national consciousness is to be stressed. This is to lead to a higher appreciation of the blood ties between all Germans—at home, in the borderlands, and abroad. Finally, it is hoped that there will develop in all Germanic countries a keener sense of kinship and greater recognition of the fact that the fate of all Germanic peoples is bound up with the preservation of Nordic culture.

Up to this point the ministerial proclamation deals with general principles to be observed in instruction in the schools. The remainder of the document sets forth the manner in which these principles are to be applied in explaining specific historical events and developments. Here three tendencies are particularly noticeable, forming as they do the fundamental concepts of the National Socialist philosophy of history: First, the substitution of the racial struggle for the Marxian class struggle; second, the presentation of the Germanic peoples as the originators and transmitters of European culture; and third, following as a result of exclusive emphasis upon the first two, the invalidation of the economic interpretation of history.

Historical instruction is to begin with the presentation of the Ice Age, showing that certain races—Neandertal, Aurignac, Cromagnon—were the bearers of specific cultural traits, for "Even in pre-history it

is clearly apparent that culture is the product of race." This fact, we are told, is only obscured and not done away with by the later mixing of races. After the Ice Age the history of Europe becomes a series of Nordic migrations from Central Europe, carrying everywhere Nordic blood and culture. According to Dr. Frick, the earliest of these occurred before 5000 B.C., and affected particularly India and the Near East. Here the originally Nordic Indians, Medes, Persians, and Hittites developed high types of civilization. The pupils are to be made to relive the fate of these peoples as their own kinsmen, who were finally submerged by an overwhelming force of foreign race and blood.

Greek history is likewise to begin in Central Europe. The close racial kinship between the Germans and Northern Greeks, who formed a ruling caste, is to be stressed. The high cultural level attained by the Greeks was primarily the work of the Nordic upper class which ruled over a native population composed largely of slaves from the Near East. The caste struggle was in reality a racial struggle, and with the removal of the caste barriers by the democratic régime the fate of the Nordic race in Greece was sealed. Within two hundred years, as a result of intermarriage, Greece sank to a position of political and cultural insignificance.

After applying the racial theory to explain the rise and decline of Greek culture, this remarkable document next deals with the Roman period. We learn that the inhabitants of Northern Italy were Nordics, and that they formed the Patrician class in Rome. Moreover, the opposition between Patricians and Plebeians did not arise out of economic conditions—it was a question of racial differences. The Nordic Patricians were killed off by the incessant wars, and the remainder, through the granting of a status of equal-

ity of marriage, were submerged in an oriental slave population. Hence, at the beginning of the Middle Ages Southern Europe (Greece and Italy) was almost denuded of its Nordic peoples.

The Germanic migrations of the fourth and fifth centuries are significant, we are told, because the dying Roman Empire became infused with fresh Nordic blood, and to this is attributed the blossoming of a new culture during the Middle Ages. As proof, it is stated that this revival occurred only in lands where the Germans penetrated and settled: In Northern Italy—but not in Southern Italy—in Spain, France, and England, but not in the Balkans. It is scarcely necessary to point out that such a fantastic theory fails to account for the higher cultural development among the Arabs in North Africa, Southern Italy, and in Spain, or for Byzantine culture of the same period. That this curious interpretation of the Middle Ages needs considerable bolstering is evident from the lame attempt to explain the failure of Varangian settlements in Russia to produce a mediaeval culture comparable to that of Western Europe. Dr. Frick explains that their numbers were so small that their cultural force could not penetrate such a vast territory. At this point the critical historian will inquire: How many Visigoths settled in Spain and how many Lombards in Northern Italy? The number in both cases must have been infinitesimal in comparison to the total native population in these regions. Another proof advanced for Nordic suprem-

acy in Western Europe during the Middle Ages is the uniformity of the culture which found its highest expression in the German chivalric ideal.

In dealing with the modern period of history, instructors are directed to place special emphasis upon the last two decades. The experience of the World War, the heroic struggle against a world of foes, the undermining of the national resistance by internal enemies, the dishonoring of the nation by the treaty of Versailles, and the collapse of the liberal-Marxist régime, are all to be dealt with as the background for the national awakening following the Ruhr struggle, the origin and development of the National Socialist movement and the final establishment of the German racial state under Adolf Hitler.

The suppression of liberal idealism, the exaltation of the heroic in the individual and of power in the state, the suppression of tolerance and objectivity, and the presentation of race as the key to all historical cultural development constitute, then, the new norms for historical instruction in the Third Reich. In the entire set of instructions, issued by the minister of interior, there is scarcely a statement that is not open to serious objection from the point of view of historical truth in so far as the research of serious scholars has revealed it. Is this not indicative of the National Socialist state of mind out of which appears to have emerged a new philosophy of history fostering fanatical party bias, dangerous super-nationalism and racial arrogance?

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## DUTCH SOCIOLOGY

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A SURVEY of Dutch sociology has to cover only a limited field. Even if we understand social philosophy, too, as sociology, there are few achievements to record. This may be partly due to the fact that Holland is a community of small proportions, and, therefore, does not offer much stimulation for the study of social problems. As a science, sociology did not arouse interest until the last decades.<sup>1</sup> Before that period a few treatises on social philosophy appeared, which, although they do not belong to sociology in the modern sense of the word, are of interest.

In 1863 an *Introduction to the Science of the Community* (*Handleiding tot de Kennis van de Wetenschap der Samenleving*, Johannes Müller, Amsterdam), written by J. de Bosch Kemper, Professor of Law in the University of Amsterdam, appeared, which may be regarded as the first product of Dutch sociology. Professor de Bosch Kemper began his work with the conviction that a study of society is an essential element for productive work in the field of law. His sociology is an introduction to the theory of public law. In his very thorough *Introduction*, sociology<sup>2</sup> is defined as the science which, based on historical studies, tries to understand the nature of society and to point out ways toward its betterment. This view of the aim of the social sciences was stimulated by a Christian philosophy which regards mankind as a part of the world order, destined to fulfil a function given by God.

<sup>1</sup> It was admitted in 1921 as a subject for academic examinations.

<sup>2</sup> De Bosch Kemper does not use the word "sociology," however. He rejects it as a "barbaric" combination of Greek and Latin.

The first part of the *Introduction* consists of a treatment of the disciplines on which social theory should be based. They are, in the first place, philosophy, and, secondly, "general encyclopaedia" to define the place of the community in the science of the world. The human being is treated as the highest creature in the world who has to live in a community to develop the highest manifestation of human activity, culture. As special studies for the theory of the community, history of culture, nature, art, religion and law are necessary. They are completed through the philosophy of history. General history indicates the way in which the present community developed out of older ones. Based on all these elements, sociology can be constructed as the science of social life in all its manifestations. Anthropology is needed to give the supplementary knowledge of the physical elements.

The last part of the *Introduction* presents the development of corresponding legal systems from various social attitudes. It is evident from this division that the science of the community was seen mostly as a combination of other sciences insofar as they dealt with society. De Bosch Kemper did not develop any special "sociological" theory, since his conceptions were determined already through his Christian philosophy. Nevertheless, his book comprises almost everything with which modern sociology deals as may well be illustrated by his special investigations of the individual and the community, the relation of the individual towards culture, the rôle of religion, diseases of community life, etc. The fact that de Bosch Kemper considered the development of the community to be dominated by a spiritual

principle only since the beginning of Christianity, influences, of course, his treatment of the earlier periods.

Also founded on Christian philosophy, but from the Catholic angle, is the sociology of J. D. J. Aengenent,<sup>3</sup> Professor in the Catholic seminary at Warmond, near Leyden. Aengenent's sociology consists in a treatment of the social problem based on the encyclical letters *Rerum novarum* of Pope Leo XIII and *Graves de communire* and *Motu-proprio* of Pius X.<sup>4</sup>

Aengenent distinguishes two schools of sociology,—philosophical sociology and positivistic or historic sociology. Philosophical sociology, which is sponsored by Aengenent, is a part of moral philosophy or ethics. To him, sociology is the branch of ethics which deals with the rights and duties of the human being as a member of the community (*ethica specialis socialis*). In a narrower sense, Aengenent considers sociology to be the study of the social problem, and his book deals with sociology from this point of view. The social problem consists of five separate problems: (1) the workers' problem; (2) the agricultural problem; (3) the problem of the business class; (4) the problem of the industrial class; (5) the problem of the place of woman in society.

Three schools offer a solution for this social problem: (1) The individualistic school; (2) socialism; (3) solidarism or the Christian school. Aengenent deals with these three schools, of which he supports the last one. His views on the separate problems are developed according to the encyclical letters, mentioned above, and to various Catholic writers such as Pesch, Hitze, and others.

Very similar to the views of Aengenent

<sup>3</sup> His main work is *Leerboek der Sociologie* (Textbook of Sociology), Leyden, 1909.

<sup>4</sup> The same principles are developed by P. B. Bruin, *Sociologische beginselen*, Nymegen, 1904.

are the tenets of J. R. Slotemaker de Bruine in his book *Sociology and Christianity*.<sup>5</sup> Slotemaker de Bruine is polemical toward all positivistic systems of sociology and advocates a Protestant solidarity according to the ideas of the French economist Gide. Also Charles Secrétan, Professor in Lausanne, belongs to the creators of this system.<sup>6</sup> Compared with the social philosophy of Roman-Catholicism, Protestant solidarity is more individualistic, since it denies the rule of the Church in social matters. It believes in solidarity, the feeling of being bound together through common interests of the individuals, as a means of overcoming all difficulties. The government should defend these common human interests by protecting the weak and regulating life without destroying all private initiative. The purpose of solidarity is an ethical government which permits freedom as long as it is not abused. Economically the coöperative system is the best expression of these views. Altogether Protestant solidarity is as indefinite as ethics, and carries little conviction as a sociological theory.

A very startling and original conception of sociology was developed by a professor of the University of Amsterdam, Anne Anema.<sup>7</sup> Professor Anema considers sociology as a branch of law. Law consists of a general and a specific aspect. The general aspect comprises philosophy of law, "encyclopedia" and history of law. The specific aspect is divided into three groups: the criminological group (criminal law); the public group (public law, international law and administrative law); and finally the sociological group (private

<sup>5</sup> *Sociologie en Christendom*, Utrecht, 1912.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. P. Smit: *De wereldbeschouwing van Charles Secrétan* (The slant of Charles Secrétan), Nymegen, 1906.

<sup>7</sup> See her *De Grondslagen der Sociologie* (The foundations of sociology), Amsterdam, 1900.



law and economics). This view does not leave much to sociology except the name.

Again belonging to the philosophical group is the socialist writer Clara Wichmann. In her *Introduction to the Philosophy of the Community*,<sup>8</sup> she gives a collection of philosophical essays that exhibit a tendency toward communism.

A stimulating little volume, *Prolegomena of Sociology*,<sup>9</sup> was written by C. Gerretson. He considers sociology as the science of the community in its human aspect, the freedom of human action distinguishing it from communities of animals. According to this author, theoretical sociology is divided into: (1) Sociography or descriptive sociology; (2) comparative sociology; (3) sociosophy or dogmatic sociology. Sociography is the collection of the data and the critical investigation of their value. Sociology in the narrower sense is the classification of the material. The ultimate goal of sociosophy is to develop a system based upon theories formulated from the results of the investigations. At the same time these investigations provide the beginner with a body of known facts. Practical sociology is the application of the discovered principles to reality. In this respect sociology furnishes the foundation for scientific politics, in the same way that practical politics in turn provides material for sociology. Gerretson, who seems to be influenced by French and Italian sociologists, has not developed his system further.

Though classified more as criminology, very valuable sociological investigations have been carried on by Professor W. A. Bonger of the University of Amsterdam.<sup>10</sup> In his *Religion and Crime*, he has made a

thorough investigation of crime in relation to the religion of delinquents. The study was undertaken to learn whether facts support the usual assumption that religion acts as a deterrent to crime. The materials used were crime-reports of the Netherlands and in some cases of Germany. They indicated that crime was more prevalent among the members of the Church than among the free groups. The Roman Catholics had a higher percentage than the Protestants; the Protestants, higher than the Jews. There are, of course, differences for the various types of crime. There are more cases of burglary among Catholics and Protestants, more of swindling among the Jews.

However, Professor Bonger attaches greater importance to the economic factor in these cases than to the religious. In the Netherlands, the Roman Catholics are to be found largely among the poorer population of the South. They also show the highest percentage of illiteracy. Then too, the people of the South are more emotional. Since he sees religion as the relation of mankind toward the Absolute, and does not believe that it has an essential influence on morality at all, this being the problem of the relation between human beings, he holds economic conditions as the decisive factor in crime.

This same problem of the relation between crime and economic conditions Bonger has investigated more extensively in his *Criminalité et conditions économiques*. Here he deals first with the literature on the subject, and rejects the view which does not see any relation between the two phenomena. He even considers economic conditions to be the almost exclusive cause of crime. This view is based upon the philosophy of historic materialism, of which Bonger is an adherent. He maintains that capitalism has increased crime greatly. The present system weakens the

<sup>8</sup> *Inleiding tot de filosofie der Samenleving*, 2d edition, Haarlem, 1912.

<sup>9</sup> *Prolegomena der Sociologie*, Haarlem, 1911.

<sup>10</sup> *Criminalité et conditions économiques*, Amsterdam, 1905, and *Geloof en Misdaad*, Leiden, 1913.

social consciousness and stimulates egotism and brutality. It is not a check on criminal motives, but, in many respects, fosters them through a materialistic outlook on life. At the same time the individualism of the present day does not create enough sense of responsibility. It embitters the life of the poor and has a tendency to corrupt the rich.

Bonger tries to prove these tenets through a treatment of the various crimes which occur most frequently among the poorer classes. They are largely caused by prostitution, alcoholism, and militarism, which, in turn, are outgrowths of the economic system. A change could be brought about only through a change toward another type of culture, which would stimulate less cupidity and egotism, and would foster the nobler qualities of man. Bongers demonstrates quite clearly by statistical material, how pauperism increases crime. A lack of reliable data makes it impossible, at the present time, to carry the study further through crime surveys in different types of communities.<sup>11</sup>

The most famous Dutch sociologist, equally well-known in the field of ethnology, is Dr. Rudolf Steinmetz, Professor in the University of Amsterdam.<sup>12</sup> Pro-

fessor Steinmetz defines sociology<sup>13</sup> as the science which deals with the facts of human society and treats of its organization, life, development, and decay.<sup>14</sup>

The types of social organization are innumerable: tribe, nation, clan, town, village, state, church, sect, army, gang, club, association, family, society, and so on. All these groups and their developments must be described and investigated. As to method, Professor Steinmetz prefers induction—the penetrating and accurate study of facts in which one investigator can coöperate with others to effect a complete study of the social structure.

Sociology is based upon psychology, although some of the problems with which it deals, as for instance sexuality, have also a physical aspect. But sociology deals with psychic phenomena; therefore, psychology, general and specific, is the science to which it is most clearly related. In special relation to sociology stands sociography, the study of the nations and their groups in their various aspects. Sociography is a concrete science. The phenomena which it describes are the materials for the general and more abstract

<sup>11</sup> Cf. on the same subject, J. van Kan, *Les causes économiques de la criminalité*, 1903, and de Roos, *Inleiding tot de beoefening der crimineele actologie* (*Introduction to the practice of criminal actiology*), 1908.

<sup>12</sup> Of his works we mention the following: *Ethnologische Studien zur ersten Entwicklung der Strafe*, 1892; "Bedeutung und Tragweite der Socialwissenschaften," *Zeitschrift für Socialwissenschaft*, IX; "Das Verhältnis zwischen Eltern und Kindern bei den Naturvölkern," *Zeitschrift f. Socialw.*, 1898; *Der Krieg als sociologisches Problem*, 1899; *Endo-Kannibalismus*, Wien, 1895; "Die neueren Forschungen zur Geschichte der menschlichen Familie," *Zeitschr. f. Socialw.*, 1899; "De ziekten der Maatschappij," *Vragen des Tijds*, 1900; "Classification des types sociaux et catalogue des peuples," *Année sociologique*, III; "Geschiedenis der Sociologie," in *Geschiedenis der Wetenschappen; Kultuurwaarde en toekomst der Joden*,

The Hague, 1912; *L'ethnologie et l'anthropologie criminelle*, *Compte Rendu du Ve Congr. intern. d'anthr. crim.*; *Wat is Sociologie*, Leiden, 1900; *Sociologie des Kriegen*, 2te Aufl., Leipzig, 1929; "De eugene als ideaal en wetenschap," in *Toekomst der Maatschappij*, 1917; *De nationaliteiten in Europa, een sociographische en politieke studie*, Z. en O. Europa, Amsterdam, 1920; *Die Nationalitäten in Europa*, 1927; "Wat is sociographie?" *Mensch en Maatschappij*, 1925; "Der Wert der Sociographie für die Sociologie," in *Fünfter Deutscher Sociologentag in Wien*, 1927; *Inleiding tot de Sociologie*, Haarlem, 1931; "Die Sociologie als positive Spezialwissenschaft," in *Sociologie von Heute; Ein Symposium der Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sociologie*, herausgeg. von R. Thurnwald, Leipzig, 1932.

<sup>13</sup> *Introduction to Sociology*, p. 22.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. also "Sociology as a positive and special science," in *Sociologie von Heute*, herausgeg. von R. Thurnwald, Leipzig, 1932.

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treatment of sociology.<sup>15</sup> Sociographical studies will always have to be limited to a special group and its characteristics. A few Dutch books have appeared which are based on close observations in this field. Among these are: H. N. Ter Veen: *De Haarlemmermeer als Kolonizatiegebied*, 1925 (*The Haarlemmer lake as a region for colonization*); J. van Hinte: *Nederlanders in Amerika*, 1928 (*Hollanders in America*, a study which deserves translation); and A. Blonk: *Fabrieken en Menschen*, 1929 (*Factories and human beings*).<sup>16</sup> Especially through the use of statistics sociography is able to reach the exactness which makes its studies useful for the sociologist.

The same work which is done by sociography for the semi-cultured and the cultured nations, is carried out for the primitive ones by ethnography, the difference being, however, that the sociographer cannot cover the whole field of society, but has to limit his description to a few phenomena. Ethnology has no direct relation to sociology, but can serve as a training school and as a means toward getting a more general outlook. This holds also true for anthropogeography, the study of the physical circumstances, as climate, situation, etc., which influence social life, and for economic geography. History has in many respects the same object as sociology. History deals, however, more with single nations and does not give enough attention to social factors. From other sciences such as law, economics, philosophy of history, and criminology, sociology can obtain important facts and interesting viewpoints, but each approaches the study of social phenomena from its own angle. From this

heterogeneity of facts, sociology's task is to establish order and to endeavor to find regularity. In the realm of the typical social phenomena few laws have been found. As the most general law, Professor Steinmetz seems to regard the law of evolution.

Again, in his *Classification des types sociaux*, Professor Steinmetz advocates the collection and classification of the social facts; a procedure which has been largely neglected.

In the field of specialized sociology the most outstanding work of Professor Steinmetz is his sociology of war (*Sociologie des Kriegeres*). This work tries to interpret war as a social phenomenon and to define its function. Steinmetz considers war as a necessity, even though we may endeavor to avoid it. He sees it as the creator of nations. War among the primitives and their attacks on animals were due to the cruel, covetous, and aggressive nature of man. This pugnacity of the primitive seems to be proved by ethnology, since the groups which try to avoid struggle remain on the lowest level of culture. Struggle is necessary in the process of selection. The fight against other human beings created the first groups and was a step toward the development of a higher culture.<sup>17</sup>

War forced the primitive tribes to organize themselves more thoroughly. In this way it has been the origin of the state. Through the development of the state the smaller social groups as clans, etc., lose in importance. But if the unit becomes too great, it loses again in strength. A certain limitation seems to be essential in human nature.

War has also the cultural function of effecting contacts between nations. It often caused movements and migrations which were of great cultural importance.

<sup>17</sup> It may be mentioned again that Steinmetz believes in evolution.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. the articles on sociography which are mentioned in the list of his publications.

<sup>16</sup> Also in the Dutch sociological periodical *Mensch en Maatschappij* many articles of this nature are found.

An analysis of the losses and suffering caused by wars shows that they never were able to prevent further conflicts. War is the expression of the struggle of a collectivity for freedom and development. It is the process of selection of social groups. Moreover, Steinmetz considers war to be one of the expressions of human nature, and, therefore, something eternal. A process of education would be the only way to avoid it, and although it is regrettable, the history of the world gives little hope for success in this direction.

Another one of Professor Steinmetz' studies which calls for special mention is *De nationaliteiten in Europa* (*The nationalities in Europe*). Steinmetz sees a people as a political unit, living within a certain territory, and organized into a state. People do not form nations naturally, but only as a result of free cultural development. A nation means a unit of culture. There are many instances which show that differences of language and race do not prevent groups from developing into nations. The state on the contrary has a very different function. In some cases it is a very superficial organization; in others, it is almost the entire purpose and aim of the people. Every nationality has the tendency to create a state of its own. If this is prevented it causes friction, as is proved by the problems of the minorities in Europe.

Working with these basic conceptions, Steinmetz analyzes the various nationalities of Southern and Eastern Europe and outlines their problems. It is clear that an unprejudiced treatment of these questions, which have not been dealt with much in a scientific way, contributes considerably toward the establishment of better relations between the various national groups.

It is not possible, in this short survey, to deal with all the publications of Professor Steinmetz. But in line with this

summary, it may be interesting to notice what some of his students have contributed. In this connection, we might mention, in the first place, H. J. Nieboer, *Slavery as an industrial system*<sup>18</sup> and F. S. van der Bij, *Ontstaan en eerste ontwikkeling van den oorlog*<sup>19</sup> (*Origin and first development of war*), although both are of an ethnological nature. Dr. Nieboer shows in his interesting study that slavery exists mainly among peoples with open resources, among whom subsistence is easily acquired. This economic reason explains slavery in the majority of cases; in some it is due to other causes. Dr. van der Bij's study was undertaken to investigate whether war really stimulates toward higher cultural development. The study was in connection with the tenets of Steinmetz about war, which were outlined above. It was found that, among peoples on the lowest level of culture, war was almost absent; while among all more highly developed groups, it is often used. With an increasing amount of culture, war generally becomes much more complicated and frequently more cruel. This would seem to prove that a certain amount of pugnacity seems to be essential to reach a higher level of culture.

Of the doctoral dissertations, which were written under the guidance of Professor Steinmetz, mainly by high school teachers, the following might be mentioned: J. H. Ronhaar, *Woman in primitive mother-right societies*;<sup>20</sup> H. van Deursen, *Der Heilbringer*;<sup>21</sup> and J. J. Fahrenfort, *Het hoogste wezen der primitieven*<sup>22</sup> (*The supreme being of the primitives*). Ronhaar tries to

<sup>18</sup> The Hague, 1900.

<sup>19</sup> The Hague, 1929.

<sup>20</sup> Amersfoort, 1929.

<sup>21</sup> *Der Heilbringer, eine ethnologische Studie über den Heilbringer bei den nordamerikanischen Indianen*, The Hague, 1931.

<sup>22</sup> *Het hoogste wezen der primitieven, Studie over het "oermonotheïsme" bij enkele der laagste volken*, The Hague, 1927.

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prove in his study that the influence of mother-right on the social structure of a community is not as important as Bachofen thought. The study of van Deursen, which is purely ethnological as are also the other two, has some sociological importance, because it shows the influence of a more highly developed individual on the community and the way in which the community reacts on the personality of such an individual. Fahrenfort's dissertation deals with monotheism among several primitive tribes as a result of long development. This rather complicates the whole matter, but is of importance in the evolution controversy.

Closer to sociology is Blonk, *Fabrieken en Menschen*<sup>23</sup> (*Factories and human beings*), a sociography of Enschede, which has already been mentioned. It describes life in the centre of Holland's textile industry and brings many interesting observations. The frequency of intermarriage among the employers' families is striking. No bad results of this tendency have been noted so far. The description of the relationship between employers and workers is also worth while. A few decades ago the attitude was still rather democratic, but more recently a development of class-feeling seems to have taken place.

Furthermore, we may record the book of W. R. Heere, *Frédéric Le Play en zijne volgelingen*<sup>24</sup> (*Le Play and his disciples*), a study of this somewhat neglected philosopher and his school.

Of special interest to an American public is the recent study of Dr. A. N. J. Den Hollander, namely, *The rural poor whites in the Southern United States* (*De landelyke arme blanken in het Zuiden der Vereenigde Staten*, Welters Uitg. Maatschappij, Groningen 1933). The material for this very thorough and accurate publication was col-

lected through field-work in the United States. From the various groups of the poorer white population of the South, Den Hollander distinguishes one, to which the name "poor whites" actually refers, presents its history, and portrays its present condition. His study reveals that the social structure of the South is much more complex than is generally accepted. The "poor whites" present a great number of problems, which can only be understood through a study of the many interrelated historical and social facts. As such a study of facts, Den Hollander's work certainly deserves attention.

This concludes our survey of the sociology of Professor Steinmetz and his school. A few more publications on subjects related to sociology should be mentioned here. Among them are a few studies of Dr. H. L. A. Visser on mass-psychology: *De Psyche der menigte* (*Psychology of the crowd*), and *De collectieve psyche in recht en staat* (*The collective soul in law and state*). In an important article in *Mensch en Maatschappij*,<sup>25</sup> Visser distinguishes between more individualistic and more universal periods of history. In the more universal periods, the rôle of community life is of greater importance. The change from the one form of life toward the other causes the periods of crisis and depression. It is evident that the confusion from which the world is now suffering may be the beginning of a new period.

In a nice booklet the doctrines of sociology are presented by Dr. P. Endt, Privatdozent in the University of Leyden.<sup>26</sup> It consists of a treatment of social processes, similar to the *Beziehungslehre* of von Wiese, and gives a survey of the different schools of sociology.

The author of this article has written

<sup>23</sup> Enschede, 1929.

<sup>24</sup> Groningen, 1926.

<sup>25</sup> January, 1927.

<sup>26</sup> *Sociologie*. Nederlandsche Bibliotheek, 1931.

on Plato's social philosophy and has tried to arouse some interest in Spann's universalism.<sup>27</sup>

So-called "practical sociology" was dealt with most elaborately by Professor Kohlbrugge of the University of Utrecht. In a work of eight volumes<sup>28</sup> he treats social education—the human being in the

service of the community—care of the normal and abnormal child, care of youth in general, social needs and social legislation. Mr. Kohlbrugge covers the work done in these fields in the Netherlands, and makes frequent comparisons with the practices of other countries.

In closing this survey of Dutch sociology it may be well to point out that in the Netherlands various trends of sociology are represented. There seems to be a preference, however, for the inductive type of sociology, which appeals more to the Dutch mind than the purely abstract way of dealing with social problems.

<sup>27</sup> B. Landheer, *Der Gesellschaft und Staatsbegriff Platon's*, Rotterdam, 1931; "Othmar Spann's Social Theories," *Journal of Political Economy*, April, 1931; "Presupposition in the Social Sciences," *American Journal of Sociology*, January, 1932.

<sup>28</sup> J. H. Kohlbrugge, *Practische Sociologie*, Groningen, The Hague, 1925.

#### THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION'S SOCIAL SCIENCE PROGRAM

The Information Service of the Rockefeller Foundation offers the following summary of the Foundation's program in the social sciences.

The principal objective of The Rockefeller Foundation's program in the social sciences is the more effective analysis and better understanding of pressing social problems with a view to the improvement of the prevailing conditions of human life. The description of the year's work falls into two parts: a general program designed to promote certain interests in the social sciences as a whole, and a program of specific concentration in fields of special interest.

The general program includes four types of activity: the development of institutional (largely university) centers of advanced training and research; support of inclusive advisory and planning bodies, chief among which has been the Social Science Research Council in New York City; the provision of training and research fellowships, by which, in 1932, opportunity for advanced study was given through 56 fellowships administered by the Social Science Research Council and 167 fellowships under direct Rockefeller Foundation supervision; the maintenance of grants in aid and small projects, as well as certain larger undertakings of general interest such as the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* and *Social Science Abstracts*. All these types of activity were carried on abroad as well as in the United States.

The development of institutional centers of advanced training and research is regarded as the essential basis of the entire program. Nineteen institutions thus aided are listed in the annual report of the Foundation. The research now recognized by university administrators as essential to progress in the social sciences is costly in terms of both time and money and has been greatly retarded by the economic depression. During 1932 new appropriations to centers of research included those given to the Universities of North Carolina and Texas, as well as to Stanford University and Harvard University.

In addition to the general program the Foundation has supported social science research in three specific fields: (1) economic planning and control; (2) international relations; (3) social organization and procedure, with special reference to problems of community organization and planning.

Much physical illness, mental disorder, family disintegration, crime, and political and social instability trace their origins to economic causes. In a time of depression, when millions of unemployed are unable to command the necessities of life, there is the incessant question as to why this distressing situation arises in a country where raw materials are plentiful, where technological equipment is of the best, and where workers are eager to apply their productive capacities. The Foundation, although not itself a research agency in the social sciences, is impressed with the importance of research in this field. It therefore seeks to strengthen existing institutions which are collecting and appraising basic information and to assist in advancing particular studies which deal with problems of economic stabilization. For several years it has given support to various studies and organizations concerned with research in this field.

During 1932 substantial new grants were made by the Foundation to a number of investigative organizations including Harvard University and the Universities of Pennsylvania and Minnesota. Smaller gifts were made to several foreign institutes of research. A large number of institutions were given support in carrying out programs in international relations and in community organization and planning. The total amount appropriated in 1932 for work in the social sciences was \$2,622,567.



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## TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

## A GUIDE FOR THE STUDY OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS

A. F. KUHLMAN

*University of Chicago Libraries*

IT WAS an epoch-making event in American bibliographic history when the American Library Association, with the coöperation of 225 American libraries and the H. W. Wilson Company, successfully compiled and published the *Union List of serials in the libraries of the United States and Canada* in 1927. That list included approximately 75,000 serial titles for which bibliographic information was given and the holdings of coöperating libraries were shown. In that effort the necessary mechanical and bibliographic experience was accumulated to make possible a second significant bibliographical task, the compilation of the recently published *List of serial publications of foreign governments, 1815-1931*.<sup>1</sup> The latter list is a landmark for students in the social sciences. For years they have been handicapped because there were no adequate finding lists or bibliographical tools for the publication of most foreign governments showing which publications existed, and in which American libraries they could be obtained. The absence of

effective guides and bibliographies is undoubtedly one reason why scholars have not used the primary records of foreign governments more extensively in their studies in the past.

Conscious of the acuteness of the scholar's and also the librarian's need for authentic information regarding the serial publications of all foreign governments, the Executive Board of the American Library Association, at its March meeting, 1926, appointed a committee to consider the preparation of a union list of serial publications of foreign governments. On July 3d, 1926, two additional committees, representing the American Council of Learned Societies and the National Research Council respectively, joined the committee of the A. L. A. in a request to the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial for funds for the compilation of such a list. A grant of \$25,000 was made by the Memorial which was supplemented later with \$5,000 by the Rockefeller Foundation. In January, 1927, the three committees met, completed and agreed upon a plan and placed the editorial direction with the Committee of the American Library Association. Miss Winifred Gregory, editor of the earlier general *Union list of serials* was appointed to edit this project.

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Winifred Gregory for the American Council of Learned Societies, American Library Association, National Research Council. . . . New York, The H. W. Wilson Company, 1932, 5 p. 1, 720 p. (Sold on service basis.)

In scope, this new list aims to include the major serial official publications of the foreign national governments, and of such of their states and provinces as are to some extent self-governing; namely, the states of Germany, of Austria, of some of the South American Republics, and of the cantons of Switzerland. It does not include the publications of colleges, universities and learned societies, even though subsidized by their governments. It should be added that the term "serials" as used by librarians includes "any publication issued in successive parts, usually at regular intervals, and as a rule, intended to be continued indefinitely." Thus, in addition to periodicals, reports, year books, memoirs, proceedings, and transactions are included.

In general, the material is grouped by countries and under each country entries are arranged alphabetically under the issuing department, bureau or ministry. Under each title bibliographical information such as terminal dates, whether current or extinct, different series, variations in title, etc., and the holdings of any of the 85 coöperating libraries are noted. In the Russian section, more elaborate provision is made: titles appear in Russian characters, followed by the transliteration into our roman alphabet, the translation into English, the statement of frequency of publication and a descriptive annotation in English covering content of publication, history or function of the issuing body, etc.

The preparation of this list has been essentially a coöperative enterprise fraught with many difficulties.<sup>2</sup> The editor spent most of 1927 in a study of the serial documents of foreign governments held by the Library of Congress, the departmental

libraries in Washington, and the New York Public Library. Then a set of printed cards for the documents in the Library of Congress was obtained. Legal entries were largely supplied by the Harvard Law School Library, the Library of the Bar Association of New York City, and the Law Division of the Library of Congress. A provisional list of titles for the member states of the Pan American Union was obtained from the Columbus Memorial Library. The Russian section was prepared by the Division of Documents of the Library of Congress. In 1928-29, the editor visited foreign capitals to study, with the aid of librarians and public officials, specialized document collections, wherever available, and issuing offices to acquire new titles and supplementary bibliographical information for the titles in her possession. In 1930, the editor carried her work forward at the New York Public Library utilizing its fine collection to enlarge the list and to correct bibliographical information. As a part of the preliminary work, tentative "checking" lists of titles by countries were sent to coöperating libraries for the checking and recording of their holdings and for criticism, revision, and addition of titles and bibliographical information. Thus the raw material for this first edition was assembled, compiled, and edited, and is now offered to scholars, libraries, dealers and public officials, in the words of the editor, as "a foundation on which to build." It represents pioneer work—a point of departure. As such, it is another significant landmark in American bibliographic history. But it is more than that. For the first time, we have between two covers a working list of those primary records of the activities of foreign governments that are indispensable, particularly to the social science research of the future. Here is a Baedeker to a vast

<sup>2</sup> For an instructive account of some of the editor's difficulties, see *Research adventures in foreign capitals* by Winifred Gregory. Proceedings, National Association of State Libraries, 1930-31, pp. 49-54.



territory hitherto uncharted in bibliographical tools representing original data largely unexplored by researchers.

The richness and variety of sources brought to light in this new list become obvious if one examines any typical section to see which subjects are covered by titles, and to ascertain which specialists will perhaps find here their primary sources. Explore the section for England, and with no attempt at listing a large number of pertinent titles, what do the various specialists find of interest to them? The *agriculturalist* finds—in addition to routine reports on crown lands, land registry and settlement—illuminating serials devoted to agricultural production, markets, prices, wages and income. The *botanist* finds scientific and administrative reports by his peers from the Royal Botanic Gardens, and specialized titles on entomology, forestry, and horticulture. For the student of *city planning* there are entries on building research, housing, and town planning. The *chemist* finds his profession well represented in scientific and industrial research serials on atmosphere pollution, deterioration of structures in sea-water, explosives, fabrics, food, forest products, fuel, gas cylinders, lubrication, oxygen, radio, and water pollution. The specialized interests of the student of *commerce* are provided for in serials on industrial production, banking, domestic and foreign trade, insurance, import duties, markets, etc. For the expert in *communication* authentic sources appear on postal service, radio, radio-broadcasting, telephone and telegraph. *Criminologists* can make their research vital with the aid of serials on police, industrial schools, prisons, probation, and entries devoted to statistics of the police, courts, industrial, and penal institutions.

For the *educator* there are administrative and research titles dealing with elemen-

tary and secondary schools, adult education and university grants. For the *engineer*, the scientific papers of the Corps of Royal Engineers and technical patent reports are listed. The *geographer* finds reports on climatic conditions, national resources, land utilization, and a wide range of industrial activities that interests him. To the *geologist* go the geological surveys, reports and papers on meteorology, mines, quarries, and paleontology. Theoretically, the *historian* is interested in all of these serial publications, for in them are recorded inventions, discoveries, the birth, growth, operation or decline and death of many social institutions. In fact, here is the record of the political processes, which constitute the framework of our modern civilization. The student of *international relations* finds that a wide range of serials concerns him: colonial and dominion reports, daily reviews of the foreign press, diplomatic and consular reports, entries dealing with emigration and immigration, the Imperial Institute and the League of Nations. For the student of *labor problems* there are titles on factories, bankruptcy, mine rescue work, strikes, unemployment, unemployment insurance, and workmen's compensation. The student of *public finance* will be attracted by reports on appropriation accounts, inland revenue, income tax, mint, national debts, the treasure and taxation.

The *political scientist* finds here the record of nearly every activity of foreign governments whether it be executive, legislative, judicial, administrative or scientific research. For the study of *law and justice*, laws, statutes, revised codes and the reports and statistics of the various tribunals are listed. *Public health* problems are dealt with in serials by health officers in the army, the schools and industry, by the Ministry of Health, the Medical Research Council and reports on spe-

cialized subjects such as animal health, food investigation, hospitals, midwives, and tropical diseases. For the *prohibitionist* (and his opponents) titles appear on alcoholic beverages and liquor control. To the *militarist* go the historical records of the British Army, reports on dockyards, air force, army, coast guard, navy, war museum, and the War Graves Commission. The *social worker* can trace trends for more than a century in the administration of the poor laws and parliamentary commission reports, and for recent years in health and unemployment insurance, in the reports of the Commission on Lunacy and Mental Deficiency, of Friendly Societies, the welfare of the blind and in welfare pamphlets. The expansion and improvement of *transportation* can be followed in serials on aeronautics, public roads, shipping, and railroads. *Public utilities* are represented in entries on public works, gas, electric lighting, lighthouses, and water. Finally, for the *statistician* there are census and statistical abstract serials on births and deaths, marriage and divorce, on the administration of justice from arrest to release from prison, and on nearly every phase of the industrial process.

The richness of these sources and the practical value of this list are further indicated in a survey that the writer undertook with the assistance of representatives of seven social science disciplines at the University of Chicago (Commerce, Economics, Education, Geography, Geology, History, and Political Science) to determine what the permanent acquisition program of its Libraries should be. Representatives of these seven disciplines examined the entries in the first six sections of the preliminary list and selected and checked those that were of interest to them. The total number of titles checked as desirable was 7,359. The distribution by departments was as follows: Commerce, 1,214; Eco-

nomics, 917; Education, 314; Geography, 3,199; Geology, 249; History, 1,519; Political Science, 2,451.

The importance of a great many titles for research was indicated by the fact that 1,975 titles were checked by two or more departments: 1,268 were wanted by two departments, 442 by three, 259 by four, and 6 by five departments. Items checked by from three to six departments were such as census reports, parliamentary debates and documents, financial and trade reports.

On the whole, the departments regarded one out of every three titles as of sufficient merit to be acquired by the University of Chicago Libraries. The percentage of titles wanted for acquisition out of the total serials available varied for different countries: Italy 14.1 per cent; Norway, 19.11 per cent; Austria 29.6 per cent; France 36.5 per cent; Germany 44.9 per cent; and Great Britain 46.4 per cent.

Of the 7,359 titles checked, 3,068 or more than 40 per cent are extinct; the other, 4,291, are published currently. The average length in years of the extinct serials is sixteen years; of the current items, thirty-one years. It is estimated that the extinct material wanted represents 98,176 volumes, and the current titles wanted represent 266,042 volumes. If we add to this number the items which would have proved desirable if Section 7 and Section 8 had been checked, and if the recommendations of the Law School to acquire the codes, session acts, and records of the highest courts of all countries were added, the total number of volumes of foreign documents wanted would perhaps exceed 500,000. This is the verdict of scholars who are competent to judge the research value of the documents in this new union list.

Further, this list is not only a bonanza to scholars as a survey of the wealth of

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source materials published by foreign governments, but another service is rendered by it in that it records the holdings of these publications of 85 (14 reported only in part) American libraries. Thus, it gives the scholar a direct connection with source material and to some extent it coördinates existing resources. But it does more. It discloses a deplorable condition as to holdings. It shows that a great quantity of this choice public documentary material is not well distributed or represented in American libraries, especially west of the Alleghenies.

If one studies and analyzes the holdings of libraries in different geographical centers of the United States as revealed in this new union list, one is driven to several conclusions. (1) The accumulation of these documents in many libraries appears to have been haphazard and has perhaps hinged too much upon sporadic efforts and the generosity of issuing offices. (2) The present organization of these basic records in American libraries is inadequate to meet contemporary or future needs of researchers. (3) Scholars and librarians in strategic geographical and scholarly centers must join hands to do long-time planning, based upon local graduate school policies of universities and the needs of important research libraries, as well as the resources available for the purpose of building up competent collections. Local and regional policy formation must become a reality. (4) In the building of collections, selection, regional planning and coöperation, and a division of labor are imperative if collections are to become competent.

The foregoing discussion suggests how this union list of the serial publications of foreign governments may become the foundation for improving the organization and building of our national resources of these documents. The specialized functions

served by the list in a research library are well illustrated here at Chicago. Faculty members use it in selecting items to be recommended for acquisition. The order division checks it in determining the completeness of titles on which quotations are received or to specify titles as accurately as possible in ordering same. The catalogers consult it in preparing new titles for the catalog and in recording serials received. In reference work it is used to identify citations and to discover material wanted by scholars or to determine from which library the appropriate volume may be obtained through inter-library loan.

To present the serial publications of foreign governments as Miss Gregory has involves many difficulties. It means more than a listing of titles, because such titles are not separate entities and finalities like books. These serials are the expression and record of governmental functions and structures, either extinct or active. To present such serial titles of government publications in an organic or meaningful way implies a reconstruction of those functions and structures so as to show the relationships that have existed or that now prevail. The work is made the more difficult by virtue of the fact that modern governments have been in a state of flux. This is indicated in the fact that forty per cent of the titles listed by Miss Gregory are extinct. To coördinate these "dead" titles with the "living" ones presupposes a fund of knowledge in regard to the historical sequences and functional correlations not merely of the titles, but of the functions and departmental relationships which they represent. Ideally, to prepare a useful list of the serial publications of a government presupposes that one have at hand a manual setting forth explicitly the history of that government, including a full description of its various branches—executive, legislative, judicial, and ad-

ministrative—as well as of all the changes that have taken place in those branches. Such manuals were not at Miss Gregory's disposal for most of the governments whose publications were listed. Nor did she have access to complete sets or bibliographies of the publications of the various governments. In view of these difficulties, and because the editor had to obtain her titles largely from different libraries that employed a variety of styles in their catalog entries, it became difficult to supply for some titles adequate information as to the historical sequence of departments, bureaus and ministries, and to coördinate the titles so as to reconstruct functional relationships faithfully.

Despite minor imperfections the list represents a monumental bibliographical task. This was an ambitious enterprise—in three years to attempt to collect bibliographical information concerning all of the official serial publications of foreign governments. This was true especially in view of the paucity of available bibliographical information upon which to build. The writer agrees with James T. Gerould, Chairman of the Committee: "In the compilation of this list, the Editor has broken new ground; and that the task has been accomplished at all has been due to her indefatigable industry, her ingenuity and tact in securing the information from officials, and her skill in presenting it in ordered form. In no single country did there exist anything approaching an official list on which she could build." Now that a first edition is available, steps can easily be taken to perfect it and to keep it up-to-date by revision, through the coöperation of scholars, librarians and public officials. Such coöperation is also needed to initiate certain other bibliographical projects, that fall beyond the scope of this *list*, such as (1) indexes to the contents of the publications of many foreign govern-

ments, especially of France and of most of the South American Republics. To open the official publications of these governments to scholars, indexes such as now exist for the publications of the United States and Great Britain are needed. (2) Bibliographies of significant non-serial documents and publications of foreign governments would be an aid to libraries and researchers. (3) Bibliographies of the publications and documents of the leading international organizations are essential. (4) Monthly, quarterly, or annual check lists to current publications of governments that play a significant rôle in world politics should be provided. Ideally, these projects should be sponsored by the respective issuing governments and organizations. It is quite probable that such a goal might be achieved if scholars and librarians brought pressure to bear upon public officials, through appropriate international and diplomatic machinery as well as through the learned societies, in those foreign countries for whose publications more adequate check lists, bibliographies, and indexes to contents of official publications are needed.

Scholars and librarians are greatly indebted to the foundations that so generously supported the preparation of the *List of serial publications of foreign governments*, to Mr. Gerould and his committee, and particularly to Miss Gregory for this contribution to the bibliographic world. The task could not have been undertaken at a more propitious time. It was launched when funds could be generously supplied by foundations interested in the development of the social sciences, and immediately after the mechanical and bibliographical experience had been acquired that was needed to make this undertaking feasible. Moreover, an unprecedented condition had developed in world politics, which has a bearing upon the immediate

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usefulness of the list. Modern science, industry, transportation and communication have made of the whole world one vast interrelated and inter-dependent community, in which the national governmental machinery represents a medium through which to adjust competing, conflicting, or symbiotic economic interests within and between nations. In fact political processes represent the main trunk lines through which the economic needs of mankind are met. This new web of economic and political processes, the spread of literacy, the almost world-wide enfranchisement, and the efficacy of the

daily press, radio and cable, have created new and vast popular interest in the activities of foreign governments to meet those needs. To provide for this growing popular interest a better understanding of the grave and acute problems of democracies and republics, and to find for the social sciences a sounder basis, American social scientists have (since the World War) been striving for a new orientation in their disciplines—an orientation based upon research and facts rather than authority. Here is one essential guide for such research.

## SOCIOLOGY AND THE THEORY OF VALUE

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CAN sociology dispense with a theory of value? Perhaps most contemporary sociologists would answer this question with an unqualified affirmative. Values, it is claimed, are only subjective attitudes, mere feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction that arise in our own experience in proportion as we succeed or fail in realizing certain interests and impulses which are fundamentally biological in nature, however greatly this fact may have been obscured by social conditioning. Since we can know only what we desire, there can be no objective criteria for our judgments of social value, and all we can ever mean when we refer to any social activity or relationship as good is that it is emotionally congenial.

Of course such views are not new. The Greek Sophists owed their unenviable reputation, not wholly warranted it is true, to their adoption of a similar theory, and Thomas Hobbes in 1651 wrote, in words that have a familiarly modern flavor, "But whatsoever is the object of

any man's appetite or desire, that it is which he for his part calleth 'good;' and the object of his hate and aversion 'evil;' and of his contempt 'vile' and 'inconsiderable.' For these words of good, evil and contemptible, are ever used with relation to the person that useth them."<sup>1</sup>

The problem of values has recently been quite easily disposed of on purely methodological grounds by the extreme objectivists who contend that sociology as a science must confine itself to procedures analogous to those employed in the natural sciences which rely on observable, "objective" or external, as opposed to "subjective" or internal, data. Insofar as values imply conscious states, therefore, they can, *ex hypothesi*, be admitted to have no functional significance in the scientific explanation of cultural phenomena. They must either be ignored or reduced to mere sequellae or functionless correlates of physical activities.

<sup>1</sup> *Leviathan* Pt. I, Ch. VI.

But the problem of value in social science can not be dismissed so cavalierly. For it is precisely its nature as a value, as something to be used, desired or avoided by human beings, that constitutes anything a cultural fact. It requires for its analysis and description not only such external observation and measurement of material objects and overt activities as the natural sciences employ, but also knowledge of the value and meaning which it has acquired in the history of the group that manifests it. The sciences of contemporary culture, therefore, economics, political science, and sociology, must take into account not only the objective situations and the overt reactions of human beings, but also the subjective meanings which they attach to these situations and to their own behavior.

Consequently, in all the sciences that deal with culture there is no way to avoid giving recognition to the subjective elements in determining, defining, analyzing, classifying and describing the objective phenomena. These subjective elements no doubt have their correlates in the brain and nervous system, but we do not know what they are, and considering their complexity and their infra-microscopic character, it is not likely that we ever shall know. To employ such phrases as "sub-vocal talking," or "neuro-muscular tensions" in order to avoid the term "meaning" is to darken counsel by a form of words which adds no knowledge, for it substitutes a purely fictional neuro-anatomy for the most patent facts of conscious life.

But many who agree substantially with the foregoing emphasis upon the rôle of the inner life of thought and feeling in the scientific interpretation of culture will enter a *caveat* at this point. They will agree that the subject matter of social science is culture and the essence of culture

is values, but will maintain that the scientist can deal with the latter only as data. When he has described how they have arisen and how they have functioned within a given culture, his task is done. He has no advice to give regarding alternative values. This is because, says Max Weber, that when values conflict, "they can not be reconciled by proportional mixture" since "they can not be quantitatively measured." Consequently, "the conflict between values can be decided only by an arbitrary choice."<sup>2</sup>

But if opposing scientific views can be reconciled only by measurement and "proportional mixture," the outlook for social science is hopeless. Weber's own "formal" sociology collapses, since little of it can be quantified, much of it is challenged by other schools, and there are significant differences among the "formalists" themselves.

Weber's dictum that "in the light of reason every decision is arbitrary" is an *a priori* assumption. Its vogue in social science indicates the perpetuation of a philosophical theory of value which is intelligible only in the light of its history. It took its rise in the revolt against the authoritarianism of the Middle Ages, which blocked the road to knowledge with its doctrine that all values, truth as well as beauty and goodness, had been delivered unto man once and for all through revelation and tradition. It gained impetus from a second intellectual revolution, that against philosophical rationalism, which resulted in the dominance of sensationalism and empiricism in the field of philosophy during the formative period of science. But its immediate roots lie in the hedonistic and utilitarian ethics of the eighteenth and nineteenth

<sup>2</sup> Howard Becker: *Systematic Sociology on the Basis of the Beziehungslehre and Gebildelehre of Leopold von Wiese*, p. 5ff.

centuries. Pleasure, it was held, is the only good, and if a felicific calculus be developed by means of which the total net pleasure offered by alternative courses of action may be reckoned, the moral life can be reduced to quantitative terms.

Various attempts to construct a "moral and political arithmetic" followed, notably that of Bentham. Beginning with Becarria's suggestion that the value of a sensation is a function of its duration, intensity, certainty, and proximity, Bentham added a fifth element derived from his own social outlook, that is, its extent, or the number of persons involved. By such methods, he thought, "the foundation for a complete system of moral science" could be laid. But the enterprise was ultimately given up, because it became apparent that the problem involved not extensive, but intensive magnitudes, to which the ordinary rules of addition and multiplication do not apply. Five one-pound cubes of melting ice enduring for one minute are five times as heavy as one cube, but they are not five times as cold, nor, if they endure for two minutes, are they either twice as heavy or twice as cold. And neither can it be demonstrated that a pleasure one-half as intense lasting twice as long is equal to one twice as intense lasting one-half as long, or that one penalty is four times as effective as another because it is twice as certain and twice as near, whatever such terms may mean.

The abandonment of the felicific calculus has left hedonistic ethics with no basis for moral choice but arbitrary will. Utilitarianism is dead, but its ghost still walks in the form of *a priori* theories of value grounded in the principle of psychological appreciation or conscious desire as it manifests itself in direct experience. But such a theory of value is logically self-contradictory and factually false, and is therefore an unstable position for thought.

For when subjected to critical examination it tends to merge into either the natural science theory of elective affinity or the logical theory of conceptual worth.

If we start with the appreciative theory, a value is any object of interest or desire, any end to be sought or avoided. But we do not determine our interests from moment to moment by conscious reflection. For the most part, they are so deeply embedded in our culture or in our personal life organization that we take them for granted, or are entirely unconscious of them as automatisms. Still other interests are conditioned by the basic biological processes and innate behavior equipment of the organism, whatever our theory of the unlearned behavior of the individual may be.

Consciousness, then, is not the only factor in determining ends, and if the concept of interest is to be helpful in value theory, it must be defined in its original etymological sense of "it concerns," or "it is advantageous to," since biological needs can not be ignored. Value as psychological appreciation, therefore, breaks down under criticism into the elective theory, which is grounded in the principle of non-indifference in nature.<sup>3</sup> Consciousness ceases to be a *sine qua non* of value. A thing is a value to whatever it is important for or interacts with, whether it involves consciousness or not. Some such theory of value must be the outcome of a logically consistent behaviorism.

But it may be urged that although value may not be exclusively a human affair, and that although human choices are not arbitrary in the sense of being unaffected by biological needs and by highly integrated patterns of culture and personality, yet *judgments* of value arise only under the influence of conscious desires in situations

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, John Laird, *The Idea of Value*, Ch. III.

which involve choice among alternative courses of action, and that such judgments are arbitrary.

This is again an unstable position, and breaks down under criticism into a logical theory of conceptual worth. Knowledge of value no more ends with the raw material of desire than does scientific knowledge with the raw material of sensation. But in both cases a long process of critical examination of all available data intervenes between the raw material and the finished product. Methods will be different because the problems are different, but in both cases success depends upon the capacity of human reason to deal logically with fact. The naive man's immediate certainty as to the true and the good furnishes no criterion of either truth or goodness. Only at the price of arduous toil can man develop the conceptual systems in the light of which he can decide how to do a thing and whether it is worth doing.

There is, then, no ground for the assumption that we can have no valid knowledge of values. Since both the descriptive and the evaluating disciplines pursue logical methods in their attempt to organize experience and render it intelligible in terms of conceptual systems, they may be developed in close coöperation to mutual advantage. *The descriptive and the normative must not be confused*, but they can not be isolated, except to the stultification of both. That branch of social philosophy which deals with the values of human association is social ethics. It builds upon all the social sciences, and is the logical continuation of them. It must arrive at social norms by developing and criticizing the logical implications of man's social experience which the social sciences have analyzed.

And ethics in turn can serve the social scientist in at least three ways. First, it can give him keener insight into the func-

tional significance of cultural values by providing him with a critical theory of them. Second, it can increase his scientific competence by insisting that the implicit assumptions as to values which as a human being he must inevitably make shall be adequately grounded in logical thought rather than unconsciously accepted on the authority of naive fancy. For no student of human relations today can remain uninfluenced by ethical presuppositions in his interpretation of facts, or even in his decision as to what facts are important for collection and analysis. The best recent example is Leopold von Wiese, who, for all his insistence on excluding value-judgments from sociology, writes that exploitation exists "whenever one person forces another to do things he should do for himself," when toil is "unrequited," when leisure is "purchased at the cost of others," or when one is failing to "bear the burdens consequent upon existence itself."<sup>4</sup> But all of these are value-judgments, for no one can say whether they exist or not until he has considered the ethical implications of the prevailing economic system. And third, ethics is essential to social science in mediating between theory and practice. If the results of social science are to be tested out in social situations, they will contribute to the realization of certain values and seal the doom of others. If social science is to employ such methods in the verification of its results, it must complete itself in ethics, for it will settle ethical questions whether it considers them or not.

We may summarize this discussion by reference to a historic case. When Socrates sat still in his prison in Athens after his friend Crito had arranged his

<sup>4</sup> Howard Becker, *Systematic Sociology on the Basis of the Beziehungslehre and Gebildelehre of Leopold von Wiese*, p. 379.

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escape, he was in fact an object of interest to both natural and social science. As a natural science object, he was a mechanism for the discharge of energy, and any causal explanation of his behavior or prediction as to its possibilities must reckon with this fact. But Socrates himself was inclined to think that the situation was wholly unintelligible in these terms. Insight into the conscious states of both the Athenian populace and Socrates himself, he thought, was more important. For purpose loomed larger than mechanism among the antecedents on the basis of which the consequents could be explained and predicted. His muscles and bones would have gone off to Megara or Boeotia long ago had he not chosen "the better and nobler part." The mechanist, Anaxagoras, would have given ten thousand causes, but left out the most important thing, "which is, that the Athenians have thought fit to condemn me, and accordingly I have thought it better and more right to remain here and undergo my sen-

tence."<sup>5</sup> For twenty-three centuries men have meditated upon that supreme decision to objectify in action the moral values of courage and loyalty to the conviction that the unexamined life is not worth the living. And they have come about as near to unanimity as they ever do in their judgment that his choice was grounded, not only in his own subjective preferences, but in certain principles of conduct universally valid in human experience.

And every social situation, like this in ancient Athens, is shot through and through with value, in the light of which our external observations and measurements get whatever cultural significance they have. Perhaps John Laird<sup>6</sup> is right in suggesting that "value may prove the key that will eventually release all of the human sciences from their present position of pathetic, if dignified, futility."

<sup>5</sup> *Phaedo*, steph. 99, in Jowett's translation of the Dialogues of Plato, II, 244.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. Cit.* p. xix.

## SHIFTS IN INTERESTS OF AMERICAN SOCIOLOGISTS<sup>1</sup>

H. G. DUNCAN AND WINNIE LEACH DUNCAN

*University of Colorado*

WITH the development of sociology along different and more scientific lines and the addition of more and more courses to the college curriculum, has come a greater diversity of

interests among sociologists. These have raised a number of complicated problems in the national organization which have been partly solved by the inclusion of more and shorter papers at the annual meetings of the American Sociological Society and by the establishment of separate regional divisions, as in California, the Southwestern States, and the New England States. But in these smaller units, there is likewise a diversity of interests and emphases. In fact, there is apparently some agitation to swing away from social problems and the applied

<sup>1</sup> This study was first announced in the *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVI, 783. While the authors were waiting for the membership list for 1931 an article—"The Interests of Members of the American Sociological Society, 1930" by G. A. Lundberg appeared in the *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVII, 458-60. His study, however, has in no way influenced this one. For some reason he bases his study on only a part of the total enrolment, consequently his percentages and ours for 1930 vary slightly.

phases of sociology toward the more "scientific" aspects.<sup>2</sup> In view of these conditions the authors have endeavored to locate these sociological interests and are presenting their findings in this article.

The data consist of the checked interests of the members of the American Sociological Society as obtained from the 1928, 1929, 1930, and 1931 lists.<sup>3</sup> Since 1928 the instructions to members have been: "Please check divisions of society in which you are interested, underlining the divisions of your chief interest." The items enumer-

a preference. Since all the members did not indicate their interests, this study is based upon those who complied with the instructions.

As some members gave only a single preference while others indicated all thirteen divisions, and as some specified only one major or special interest while others designated several, it seemed advisable to handle the data in two ways: consider each interest as a unit, and also each member checking a division as a unit. Table I gives the distribution of interests in per-

TABLE I  
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INTERESTS OF SOCIOLOGISTS

	1928		1929		1930		1931	
	Major Int.	Int.	Major Int.	Int.	Major Int.	Int.	Major Int.	Int.
General and Historical Sociology.....	7.60	7.64	9.60	8.13	10.49	8.52	11.58	9.45
Social Psychology.....	15.47	13.68	13.96	13.36	11.55	12.66	11.58	12.31
Social Research.....	10.91	12.95	8.85	10.78	8.38	10.41	8.69	10.43
Educational Sociology.....	7.32	6.52	8.00	6.12	6.45	5.06	6.72	5.72
Social Biology.....	1.52	3.97	2.03	3.10	1.25	2.80	1.49	2.42
Statistical Sociology.....	4.00	5.39	2.34	4.87	3.28	4.80	3.18	4.75
Rural Sociology.....	7.32	4.88	8.85	5.53	9.82	5.73	9.43	5.47
Community Problems.....	6.91	10.14	5.97	9.21	7.80	8.80	7.47	8.58
Sociology and Social Work.....	15.20	9.36	13.96	9.26	14.72	9.52	12.60	9.80
Teaching of Social Sciences.....	8.56	8.59	8.32	7.43	6.83	7.31	7.56	7.37
The Family.....	8.56	9.63	8.42	10.03	8.08	10.78	8.78	10.21
Sociology of Religion.....	6.63	7.25	5.97	7.06	6.35	6.54	5.79	5.96
Sociology and Psychiatry.....			3.73	5.12	5.00	7.07	5.13	7.53

ated are: general and historical sociology, social psychology, social research, educational sociology, social biology, statistical sociology, rural sociology, community problems, sociology and social work, teaching of social sciences, the family, sociology of religion, and since 1929, sociology and psychiatry. The entire membership was as follows: 1,403 in 1928, 1,745 in 1929, 1,844 in 1930, and 1,825 in 1931; but only 857 in 1928, 1,252 in 1929, 1,385 in 1930, and 1,454 in 1931 expressed

<sup>2</sup> *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVII, 468.

<sup>3</sup> The last year for which a general list was issued.

percentages, and Table II the percentage of members checking each division. The second table reveals the tendency of members to check a larger number of interests each year. In 1928 the average number checked by each sociologist giving a preference was 2.70; in 1929, 3.64; in 1930, 3.89; and in 1931, 4.08. Finding little unanimity in what sociologists apparently regarded as a special interest, we have used one column in each table for major interests and one for all interests combined instead of separating these into major and minor interests.

Table I shows that for the four year period the largest percentages of interests, ranked in descending order, were social psychology, social research, the family, and sociology and social work. Major interests in these divisions, however, reveal a slightly different distribution. In 1928 social psychology was the outstanding special interest, in 1929 it divided honors with sociology and social work, in 1930 it yielded priority to this division, and in 1931 it and general and historical sociology shared the position of second

slowly as an interest, is declining considerably as a special interest. Social psychology, although still holding the foremost rank in interest, is evincing a steady decline and is annually losing a ranking position in major interest. There has also been a waning in social research, and statistical sociology. Of particular interest is the fact that the family, although shifting ranks rather frequently, has actually experienced no marked fluctuation.

Table II gives the number of sociologists in percentages checking each division.

TABLE II  
PERCENTAGE OF MEMBERS CHECKING THE VARIOUS DIVISIONS

	1928		1929		1930		1931	
	Major Int.	Int.	Major Int.	Int.	Major Int.	Int.	Major Int.	Int.
General and Historical Sociology.....	6.42	20.65	7.18	29.71	7.87	33.14	8.53	38.38
Social Psychology.....	13.06	36.87	10.46	47.92	8.66	49.25	8.53	50.00
Social Research.....	9.22	35.00	6.63	39.38	6.28	40.51	6.40	42.36
Educational Sociology.....	6.18	17.73	5.99	22.20	4.83	19.71	4.95	23.24
Social Biology.....	1.28	10.73	1.51	11.26	0.93	10.90	1.10	9.84
Statistical Sociology.....	3.38	14.58	1.76	17.81	2.45	18.70	2.34	19.32
Rural Sociology.....	6.18	13.80	6.63	22.04	7.36	21.58	6.95	22.22
Community Problems.....	5.83	26.24	4.47	33.63	5.85	34.23	5.50	34.87
Sociology and Social Work.....	12.84	25.32	10.46	33.87	11.05	37.04	9.28	39.82
Teaching of Social Sciences.....	7.24	22.05	6.23	27.16	5.12	28.45	5.59	29.92
The Family.....	7.24	26.02	6.31	37.45	6.07	41.81	6.47	41.74
Sociology of Religion.....	5.60	19.60	4.47	25.71	4.77	25.41	4.27	24.07
Sociology and Psychiatry.....			2.79	18.68	3.75	27.50	3.79	30.60

ranking major interest, with the same division (sociology and social work) still in the lead. On the other hand, social biology consistently occupied the least popular position in both classifications of interests, with statistical sociology a close follower.

These positions, however, are only relative, growing either stronger or weaker as percentages shift from year to year. In both columns of interests, sociology and psychiatry, and general and historical sociology show the greatest increases. Sociology and social work, while increasing

For the last two years about one-half of the members expressed an interest in social psychology, and approximately two-fifths in social research, the family, and sociology and social work. While only about one-tenth claimed a similar major interest in sociology and social work, this ranked the highest of the special interests. The advance in general and historical sociology is significant; whereas only about one-fifth of the members in 1928 checked it, nearly two-fifths designated it in 1931. Taken as a whole, the members of the American Sociological Society are expanding their

interests in the different fields and at the same time showing fewer divergencies in their special interests.

In conclusion, we may say that in so far as these data can be taken as a true index, more sociologists have an interest in social psychology than any other subject, but their major interests is in social work. This being the case, those who look with disdain upon social work and social problems, and pin their hope for a "scientific" sociology on statistical sociology will find little comfort or satisfaction in these findings.

While the membership cards offer an excellent opportunity for securing an indication of individual preference, they have their limitations in their present form. A great amount of valuable information could be obtained by a reorganization of the divisions and the type of data collected. Social biology is being largely supplanted by population and human

ecology. In fact, this group was for some time dropped from the program of the society. On the other hand, social theory, culture, social anthropology, urban sociology, and criminology are given no space on the enrolment cards, while educational sociology and the teaching of the social sciences occupy separate divisions. There is likewise much uncertainty as to what constitutes a major interest, how many major interests a person may have, and whether all his interests may be major or minor. Even though these limitations exist, these data herein treated, indicate roughly what sociologists regard as their interests in the different fields of this subject.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> In this connection, the study by W. P. Meroney in regard to the geographical distribution of membership and participation of members in the annual programs will be interesting. See "The Membership and Program of Twenty-Five Years of the American Sociological Society," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXV, 55-67.



## PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### WHERE SHALL THE ALIEN WORK?

HAROLD FIELDS

*National League for American Citizenship*

RELATIVELY scant attention has been given to the prohibitions that have been imposed upon aliens who are seeking to engage in pursuits that will make them self-supporting. Nor has much study been made of the supplemental numbers that have been added to our unemployed forces through well-defined industrial and legislative policies that militate against the employment of these same aliens.

Yet throughout the United States there is today a consistent attitude among business-men and law-makers alike, that has for its announced purpose the refusal to aliens of the right to engage in certain, and many, occupations. These foreigners are being denied the opportunity to work, despite the fact that they were legally admitted to this country and with the foreknowledge by the government, in most instances, that they would seek to earn their own living. In May of this year, when the index of employment showed a slight upturn, a very large factory in the Mid-West increased its force by 100 per cent, but refused to re-employ former workers who were still aliens. In thousands of cases, foreigners are being dismissed because of this "all American" policy. This program has failed however to often produce the compensating factor of employing Americans in the place of these discharged aliens; in altogether too

many cases, the alien having been dismissed, none is taken on in his place and as a result there have been found two persons on the breadline in place of the former one.

An industrial survey of attitudes toward the employment of the alien would constitute a timely contribution to any correlated study of immigration and economic conditions. The last published study<sup>1</sup> of that type showed that already, in our so-called prosperous years, discriminations were being practiced on an extensive scale by industries. With the advent of the depression, these industrial discriminations have multiplied still further.

Still more significant is an analysis of the laws that have been enacted by the states of the Union as well as the rulings that have been promulgated by official bodies affecting qualifications for lawyers, doctors, and other professional persons. Such an analysis shows a growing tendency toward occupational discriminations against aliens.

The outline that follows crystallizes the attitudes of the forty-eight states on this important question. Particularly does it make clear the fact that so far as the State is concerned, occupations that involve careful and long preparation, such as medicine, law, accounting, teaching, and kin-

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* "Unemployment and the Alien" by the author in the January, 1931 issue of the *South Atlantic Quarterly*.

dred pursuits, are fast being limited to non-alien only. The issuance of licenses is frequently denied to aliens on the legal postulate that the state has a special interest in the privileges covered by such licenses. In many other types of discriminations there is a defense in the fact that the Courts have held that these forms of legislation have not violated the spirit nor the letter of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The practice of caring for citizens first or only, would be still more evident in this compilation of statutes and orders were the list to include similar discriminations against aliens inheriting or owning land,<sup>2</sup> or their rights in compensation cases. However, these types of discriminations were omitted from the comparative study here made in order to stress and isolate the single problem of occupational disabilities for aliens. The presentation here offered, therefore is, in a sense, limited and not at all inclusive of all such distinctions in our economic structure. A cursory examination of this compilation presents several interesting observations: (1) that every state in the Union has included laws on its statute books that withhold from the alien the right to engage in stated occupations; (2) that the number of such laws is proportional to the alien or foreign-born population of each state, e.g., that in the New England and Middle Atlantic States the greatest number of such laws is to be found, whereas in the Southern Mississippi states, the least number is registered; (3) that the admission and residence of Orientals and Mexicans to Western and Southern border states has resulted in discriminatory laws out of proportion to their alien population; (4) that the most common form of

prohibition lies in the field of the professions.

The States having statutes on their books barring aliens from employment in certain occupations, the list of such occupations, and the references to such statutes or orders, here follow:

#### THE PROFESSIONS

##### ACCOUNTANTS

###### *Full Citizenship Required*

- Alabama—Laws 1919. No. 142, p. 124, par. 1
- Connecticut—Gen. Stat. Rev. 1930, Sec. 2920
- Delaware—Chapter 48, Vol. 32
- Georgia—Act 1908, p. 86
- Kentucky—Carroll's Statutes 1930, sec. 3941—E. 4
- Louisiana—Laws 1924, No. 136, p. 208
- Massachusetts—GL (Ter. Ed.) Ch. 112, Sec. 87B
- Mississippi—Laws 1920, c. 211, p. 30
- Montana—Laws 1919, c. 72, p. 142
- New Hampshire—Public Laws, c. 270, ss. 3, 9
- New Jersey—Laws 1904, c. 230, sec. 9, p. 402
- New Mexico—Laws 1921, c. 181, p. 388
- Pennsylvania—Act. March 29, 1899, P. L. 21, sec. 1.
- South Carolina—Laws 1924, No. 537, p. 896, par. 2
- Tennessee—Shannon's Suppl. 1926, par. 3654a86 p. 1001
- West Virginia—Laws 1911, c. 19

###### *First Papers (Declarations of Intention) Required*

- Arizona—Chap. 45—HP 134
- Arkansas—Crawford & Moses Digest sec. 8325
- California—Act. 21, General Laws sec. 3
- Colorado—Comp. Laws 1921, sec. 4727
- District of Columbia—Act Feb. 17, 1923, 42 Stat. 1261, Code 219, Sec. 4
- Idaho—ICA sec. 53—202
- Illinois—Smith—Hurd Rev. Stat. 1931, c. 110 1/2, sec. 13
- Indiana—Burns 13696, 1929 supplement
- Iowa—sec. 1905-c9, code 1931
- Kansas—1-101 of R. S. 1923
- Maryland—Ch. 585, Act. of 1924
- Michigan—Laws 1925, c. 353, p. 659, par. 15
- Minnesota—Mason's Statute 1927, sec. 5700; Laws 1909, ch. 439, sec. 3; Sec. 4962, et seq. G. S. 1913
- Nebraska—Comp. Stat. 1929, sec. 1-101
- Nevada—Laws 1919, c. 198, p. 365, par. 5 Laws 1917, c. 184, p. 346 Sec. 253, Comp. Laws 1929
- New York—Education Laws, sec. 1490

<sup>2</sup> Vide "Legal Disabilities of Aliens in the United States" by Max J. Kohler in the February, 1930 issue of the *American Bar Association Journal*.

North Carolina—Laws 1925, c. 261, p. 503, par. 2

North Dakota—Laws 1925, c. 2

Ohio—Sec. 1373, General Code

Oregon—Code 1930; 68-201

Rhode Island—General Laws 1923, chap. 211, sec. 1

Utah—1923 Laws, sec. 41, p. 84

Vermont—1931, No. 132

Virginia—Code Sec. 567; 1928, p. 1150

Wisconsin—Wis. Stat. 1931, 135.02 subd. (1)

Wyoming—Rev. Stat. 1931, Sec. 2-104

#### ARCHITECTS

##### *Full Citizenship Required*

Iowa—Sec. 1905-d8, Code 1931

Michigan—Laws 1919, No. 334, p. 592, par. 13

New York—Laws 1922, c. 461, Amd. Laws 1924, c. 244

South Dakota—Laws 1925, c. 163, pp. 185-6, par. 7-10

Washington—Laws 1919, c. 205, pp. 720-1, par. 3

##### *First Papers (Declarations of Intention) Required*

Georgia—Sec. 1754 (58) Civil Code

Idaho—I. C. A., sec. 53-402

Ohio<sup>3</sup>—With one exception—Sec. 1334-6, Gen. Code (114 Ohio Laws 523) (1931)

Oregon—Code 1930; 68-305

Virginia—Act. 1920, p. 496; 1924, p. 353

West Virginia—Laws 1921, c. 107, p. 267, par. 19

#### AVIATORS

##### *Full Citizenship Required*

Oregon—Code 1930; 17-105

#### CHIROPODISTS

##### *Full Citizenship Required*

New Mexico—Laws 1921, c. 110, pp. 197-8, par. 3

#### CHIROPRACTORS

##### *First Papers (Declarations of Intention) Required*

New Jersey—Laws 1925, c. 126, p. 349

#### COURT REPORTERS

##### *Full Citizenship Required*

Colorado—Chap. 159, Sessions Laws 1925, sec. 10

#### DENTISTS

##### *First Papers (Declarations of Intention) Required*

New York—Regulation, Bd. Dental Examiners

#### DOCTORS

##### *Full Citizenship Required*

Georgia—Rule of the State Board of Medical Examiners

Indiana—Regulation State Board of Medical Registration and Examination

Kansas—Regulation State Medical Board

Kentucky—Regulation, State Medical Board

Nebraska—Comp. Stat. 1929, sec. 71-701, 71-702

South Dakota—Laws 1925, c. 254, p. 300

Wyoming—Sec. 6 Board of Medical Examiners;

Rev. Stat. 1931, sec. 114-106

##### *First Papers (Declarations of Intention) Required*

Idaho—I. C. A. Sec. 53-2102

Louisiana—Act. 56, 1914, Amd. Oct. 4, 1918

Maine—Rule Board of Registration of Medicine

Minnesota—Regulation State Board of Medical Examiners—June 18, 1924

Mississippi—Regulation, State Board of Health

Nevada—Act of Mar. 4, 1905, Amd. Mar. 27, 1931, Sec. 6

\*New Jersey—Laws 1925, c. 134, pp. 359-363

\*New York—Laws 1926, c. 834, p. 1543

North Dakota—Ruling, State Medical Board

Ohio—Rule State Medical Board Authorized by sec. 1273—General Code

Oregon: Ruling, State Medical Board

Rhode Island—Public Laws 1927, Sec. 1 amending sec. 3, ch. 159, Gen. Laws

Wisconsin—Wis. Stat. 1931, 147.15. Amd. by ch. 290, Laws 1933; Rules Bd. Med. Exmnrs.

Wyoming—Rev. Statutes—1931, sec. 114-106

#### ENGINEERS (PROFESSIONAL)

##### *Full Citizenship Required*

Michigan—Laws 1919, No. 334, p. 592, par. 13

Pennsylvania—Act. of May 6, 1927, P. L. 820

South Carolina—Laws 1922, No. 580, p. 1034, par. 8

##### *First Papers (Declarations of Intention) Required*

Indiana—Burns 13886, 1929 Supplement

New Jersey—Laws 1921, c. 224, p. 718

Virginia—Act. 1920, p. 496; 1924, p. 353

West Virginia—Laws 1923, c. 63, p. 223

#### ENGINEERS (STATIONARY)

##### *Full Citizenship Required*

Minnesota—Mason's Statute 1927, sec. 5697-9; Laws 1921, c. 523, sec. 9

Nevada—Sec. 2874, Comp. Laws 1929

New York—Laws 1922 c. 461, Amd. Laws 1924, c. 244

North Carolina—Laws 1921 c. 1, p. 49, par. 9

South Dakota—Laws 1925, c. 163, pp. 185-6, par. 7-10

##### *First Papers (Declarations of Intention) Required*

New Jersey—Laws 1913, c. 363, sec. 5, p. 784; Rule, License Board

#### LAWYERS

##### *Full Citizenship Required*

Alabama—1932 Code—6241 (1975)

State Bar Board pp. 4-6

<sup>3</sup> Exception: Alien with ten years experience abroad, who has passed Ohio examination.

\* Full citizenship required within six years.

- Arizona—Rev. Stat. Code 1928, Chap. 7, sec. 193  
 Arkansas—Crawford & Moses Digest—Sec. 596  
     Stat. 1919, Suppl. 1927, sec. 596  
 California—Act. 591, General Laws, sec. 24  
     Session Laws 1931, chap. 861, p. 1761  
 Colorado—Comp. Laws 1921, sec. 5999  
     Supreme Court Ruling —64  
 Connecticut—Gen. Stat. Rev. 1930, sec. 5343  
     Rules Super. Court Reg. Adm. of  
     Att. sec. 4  
 District of Columbia—Supreme Ct., D. C., Rule  
     5, Sec. 2  
 Florida—State Board Laws Ex. Instr. —Sec. 3  
 Georgia—Code of 1926 (Michie) Sec. 4932; Acts  
     1806, Cobb 89; 1847, Cobb 92  
 Illinois—State Board Law Examiners, p. 9  
 Indiana—Const. Article 7, sec. 21  
 Kansas—7-102, of R. S. 1923  
     Stat. Laws 1905, chap. 67, sec. 1  
 Kentucky—Board of Examiners, Rules 1 and 2  
 Louisiana—Amended Act 118, 1910, p. 190  
     Sup. Court Rule XV Sec. 1  
 Maine—Rev. Stat. 1930, c. 93, sec. 26 as amended  
     by Laws 1931, c. 176, sec. 2  
 Maryland—Rules Court of Appeals—p. 5  
 Massachusetts—G. L. (Ter. Ed.) Chap. 221,  
     sec. 37, 38  
 Michigan—Stat. Sec. 13578 C. L. 1929, p. 4865  
 Minnesota—1930 Minnesota Supreme Court Rule  
     2; Sec. 4946, G. S. 1913  
 Mississippi—Laws 1916, chap. 107, p. 140  
     State Board Law Exrs. II, III  
 Nebraska—Comp. Stat. 1929; sec. 7-104  
     Bar Committee Form 1, sec. 23,  
     Instr. sec. 4  
 New Hampshire—Public Laws, 1926, c. 325, S. 2.  
 New Jersey—Rules of Supreme Court of New  
     Jersey—P. 1 of Bar Pamphlet published Feb.  
     14, 1931 Rule 3 (B)  
 New York—Judiciary Law—Sec. 460  
     Rules Court of Appeals—Rule II  
     sec. 2, Rule VI sec. 1  
 North Dakota—Rule of the Sup. Court  
 Ohio—Sup. Ct. Rule XIV, Sec. 38  
 Pennsylvania—Rules Sup. and Super. Courts  
     Rule 7  
 Rhode Island—Supr. Court Rule 1A  
 South Carolina—State Board Law—Informal  
     Papers of Cit. Rules—(Gen)  
 Tennessee—Sup. Ct. Rules—sec. 4  
 Utah—8-0-10 Laws 1933  
 Vermont—Supr. Court Rule 22  
 Washington—Sec. 139, subd. 6, Rem. Rev. Stat.  
     Wash. Stat. Laws 1921, Chap. 126, sec. 4  
 Wisconsin—Wis. Stat. 1931, 256.28 subd. (2)  
 Wyoming—Rev. Stat. 1931, sec. 9-103  
     Stat. Sessions Laws 1927, chap. 26  
*First Papers (Declarations of Intention) Required*  
 Idaho—Comp. Stat. 1919, Sec. 6565  
 Montana—Rev. Code of 1921, sec. 8936, Sup.  
     Court Rule A2 B1  
 Nevada—Stat. Rev. Laws, 1912, sec. 499  
 New Mexico—Laws 1909 Chap. 53, 19; Code  
     1915 —346 State Board Bar Examination,  
     Rule 1, Sec. 2  
 Ohio—Sec. 1706, General Code  
 Oklahoma—Rules Board of Gov. State Bar Rule  
     1; Sec. 4149  
 †Oregon—Code 1930, 32-105  
     Stat. Olsons Oregon Laws 1920, sec.  
     1077, 1078  
 Utah—Sess. Laws 1931, ch. 48, p. 166
- NURSES**  
*Full Citizenship Required*  
 Florida—Rule, State Bd. Examrs. Nurses  
 Nebraska—Comp. Stat. 1929, sec. 71-701, 71-702
- OPTOMETRISTS**  
*Full Citizenship Required*  
 Alabama—Laws 1919 No. 521, p. 476, par. 9  
 Idaho—I. C. A. sec. 53-1706  
 Montana—Laws 1925, c. 171, p. 309, par. 4  
 Tennessee—Shannon's Suppl. 1926, par. 3654a19,  
     p. 996  
 Washington—Laws 1919, c. 144, p. 400, par. 5
- OSTEOPATHS**  
*First Papers (Declarations of Intention) Required*  
 Wisconsin—Wis. Stat. 1931, 147.15
- PHARMACISTS**  
*Full Citizenship Required*  
 Massachusetts—G. L. (Ter. Ed.) Chap. 112,  
     sec. 24  
 New Hampshire—Public Laws c. 210, s. 18  
 New York—Laws 1924, c. 338, p. 633  
 Ohio—Sec. 1302 Gen. Code  
 Rhode Island—Public Laws 1926, chap. 794,  
     sec. 2  
 Utah—1925 Laws, sec. 60e, p. 123  
 Vermont—1931, No. 130  
 West Virginia—Code 1931, c. 30, art. 5, par. 4  
*First Papers (Declarations of Intention) Required*  
 California—Act. 5886, Gen. Laws sec. 2  
 New Jersey—Laws 1932, c. 170, p. 120  
 Wisconsin—Wis. Stat. 1931, 151.02 subd. (1)
- CERTIFIED SHORTHAND REPORTERS**  
*Full Citizenship Required*  
 New York—Ed. Law, sec. 1501

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†Full citizenship required within six months.



## SURGEONS

*Full Citizenship Required*

New York—Laws 1922, c. 461, Amd. Laws 1924, c. 244

Wyoming—Rev. Stat. 1931, sec. 86-104

*First Papers (Declarations of Intention) Required*

\*New Jersey—Laws 1925, c. 134, pp. 359-363

Rhode Island—Public Laws 1927, chap. 1029, sec. 3

Wisconsin—Wisc. Stat. 1931, 147-15

## SURVEYORS

*Full Citizenship Required*

Michigan—Laws 1919, No. 334, p. 592, par. 13

New York—Edc. Law Sec. 550

North Carolina—Laws 1921, c. 1, p. 49, par. 9

South Carolina—Laws 1922, No. 580, p. 1034, par. 8

South Dakota—Laws 1925, c. 163, pp. 185-6, par. 7-10

Wyoming—Rev. Stat. 1931, Sec. 114-106

*First Papers (Declarations of Intention) Required*

Minnesota—Mason's Stat. 1927, sec. 5697-9; Laws 1921, c. 523, sec. 9

New Jersey—Laws 1921, c. 224, p. 718

Virginia—Act. 1920, p. 496; 1924, p. 353

## TEACHERS

*Full Citizenship Required*

California—Act. 7519, Gen. Laws part II, c. 1, art. 1, sec. 5.128

Idaho—I. C. A. sec. 32-1102

Michigan—Laws 1919, No. 220, p. 392

Montana—Laws 1919, c. 196, p. 429-30

Nebraska—Comp. Stat. 1929, sec. 79-1419

Nevada—Laws 1927, c. III, Sec. 5986, Comp. Laws 1929

New Jersey—Laws 1928, c. 239, p. 417

New York—Ed. Law Sec. 550

Tennessee—Shannon's Suppl. 1926, par. 1487a183, p. 409

Washington—Laws 1919, c. 38, p. 82; Rem. Rev. Stat. sec. 4845

Wyoming—Rev. Stat. 1931, sec. 114-106

*First Papers (Declarations of Intention) Required*

North Dakota—Laws 1929, c. 111

Texas—Act. 1929, 41st Leg. Reg. Sess., chap. 38, p. 72

*Oath of Allegiance Required*

Oregon—Code 1930; 35-2402

West Virginia—Laws 1867, c. 98, par. 32; Laws 1923, c. 13, par. 86-a

## PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT

## ON PUBLIC WORKS

*Full Citizenship Required*

Arizona—Par. 1352, Rev. Code 1928

(Amended Chap. 85 House Bill 72, Laws 1929)

(Amended Chap. 31 Subst. House Bill 49, Laws 1931)

California—Act 6430, Gen. Laws, sec. 1

Idaho—I. C. A., sec. 43-603

Illinois—Smith-Hurd Review Rev. Stat. 1931, c. 6, sec. 10-15

Louisiana—Laws 1908 No. 271, p. 398

Montana—Laws 1927, c. 133, p. 416

Nevada—Laws 1925, c. 25, pp. 29-30, sec. 6173; comp. laws 1929

†Oregon—Code 1930; 19-202, 19-205

Pennsylvania—P. L. 269, June 25, 1895

Washington—Sec. 6616, 2334-1 et seq. Rem. Rev. Stat.

*First Papers (Declarations of Intention) Required*

Wyoming—Const. art. 19, sec. 3

*Citizens Preferred*

Massachusetts—G. L. (Ter. Ed.) Chap 149, sec. 26

New Jersey—Laws 1931, c. 27, p. 63; c. 402, p. 1471; Laws 1932, c. 226, p. 503

New York—Laws 1921, c. 50, p. 172, par. 222

Wisconsin—Wisc. Stat. 1931, 46. 26

## ON HIGHWAYS

*Citizens Preferred*

Texas—Act. of 1931, 42nd Leg., Reg. Sess., chap. 46, p. 69

## STATE POLICE

*Full Citizenship Required*

Illinois—State Const. Art. VII, sec. 6

Massachusetts—Rules of Dept. of Public Safety

Nevada—Laws 1927, c. 111, sec. 5986, comp. laws 1929

## STATE MILITIA

*Full Citizenship Required*

Illinois—State Const. Art. VII, sec. 6

Massachusetts—G. L. (Ter. Ed.) Chap. 33, sec. 2, 90

## STATE PEACE OFFICERS

*Full Citizenship Required*

Illinois—State Const. Art. VII, sec. 6

New York—Penal Law, sec. 1845

## POLICEMEN

*Full Citizenship Required*

New York—Executive Law, sec. 94

Wisconsin—Sec. 66.11

## CIVIL SERVICE

*Full Citizenship Required*

Massachusetts—G. L. (Ter. Ed.) Chap. 31, sec. 12

†Applies only to Chinese and aliens who claimed exemption during the war

New York—Laws 1925, c. 30, p. 51-2; Civil  
Serv. Law Reg. 4, subd. 2, (4)

Wisconsin—Wisc. Stat. 1931, 16, 11 subd. (2)

#### BIDDERS ON PUBLIC CONTRACTS

##### *Citizens Preferred*

Massachusetts—G. L. (Ter. Ed.) chap. 149,  
sec. 179A

#### IN STATE DEPARTMENTS

##### *Full Citizenship Required*

Oklahoma—Sec. 3519, stat. 1931

#### MEMBER BOARD OF COSMETOLOGY

##### *Full Citizenship Required*

Michigan—Laws 1931, act. 176, p. 280

#### MEMBER BOARD OF EXAMINERS FOR PLUMBING AND HEATING CONTRACTORS

##### *Full Citizenship Required*

North Carolina—Laws 1931, c. 52, p. 51, par. 2

#### LICENSES

#### PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT AGENCY

##### *Full Citizenship Required*

Iowa—Sec. 1551-c. 2 code 1931

New Jersey—Laws 1928, chap. 283, sec. 3, p. 777

Oregon—Code 1930, 49-802

West Virginia—Laws 1929, c. 21, Art. 2, par. 8

#### REAL ESTATE BROKER

##### *Full Citizenship Required*

New Jersey—Laws 1925, c. 243, sec. 7, p. 674

New York—Laws 1926, c. 831, p. 1529; super-  
seding laws 1925, C. 164

#### CHAUFFEURS

##### *First Papers (Declarations of Intention) Required*

\*New York—Laws 1929, ch. 54 amd. by ch. 167,  
Laws 1933

#### AUCTIONEERS

##### *Full Citizenship Required*

Minnesota—Sec. 6083, G. S. 1913

Montana—Laws 1921, c. 15, p. 13

##### *First Papers (Declarations of Intention) Required*

\*New Jersey—S. 1929, Laws of 1933

#### PRIVATE BANKERS

##### *Full Citizenship Required*

New Jersey—Laws 1925, c. 189, par. 2, p. 454

#### LIFE INSURANCE AGENTS

##### *First Papers (Declarations of Intention) Required*

Ohio—Sec. 654-3; General Code, 1925, 111 Ohio  
Laws 126

#### STEAMSHIP TICKET AGENTS

##### *Full Citizenship Required*

Pennsylvania—Act. July 17, 1919, P. L. 1003,  
Amended by Act. Apr. 27, 1925, P. L. 329

#### STEAM BOILER OPERATORS

##### *Full Citizenship Required*

New York—Laws 1922, c. 461, Amd. Laws 1924,  
c. 244

#### MASTER OR PILOT OF A VESSEL

##### *Full Citizenship Required*

New York—Annual Report Bureau of Labor  
Statistics, New York 1924

#### MOTION PICTURE OPERATORS

##### *Full Citizenship Required*

New York—Annual Report, Bureau of Labor  
Statistics, New York 1924

#### REPRESENTATIVE, COMPENSATION LAW SELF-INSURER

##### *Full Citizenship Required*

New York—Workmen's Compensation Supp.  
1931, sec. 50, subd. 3b

#### HUNTING

##### *Full Citizenship Required*

Arizona—1534 Rev. Code 1928

Colorado—Comp. Laws 1921, sec. 6882

Connecticut—Pub. Acts 1919-1929, Sec. 3143

†Massachusetts—G. L., chap. 13, sec. 7

New Mexico—Chap. 120

New York—Conservation Law, sec. 185

Ohio—Gen. Code, sec. 1431

Pennsylvania—Act. May 24, 1923 P. L. 359, sec.  
202

Texas—Aliens must have license, art. 904a,  
Penal Code 1925

Utah—Laws 1917, p. 278, sec. 2600

Vermont—Sec. 6338, Gen. Laws, amd. by sec. 1  
of #187, Acts 1921

Washington—Sec. 5711, 5695 Rem. Rev. Stat.

West Virginia—Laws 1929, c. 13, par. 19

#### FISHING

##### *Full Citizenship Required*

Arizona—1534 Rev. Code 1928

California—Act. 2876, Gen. Laws #1 Cal.  
Jurisprudence p. 919

Delaware—Chap. 194, Vol. 33

†Massachusetts—G. L., chap. 13, sec. 7

Ohio—Gen. Code, sec. 1430

Oregon—Code 1930; 40-511

Pennsylvania—Act May 2, 1925, P. L. 448, Sec.  
240

Vermont—Sec. 6338, Gen. Laws, Amended by  
sec. 1 of #187, Acts 1921

Washington—Sec. 5711, 5695 Rem. Rev. Stat.

West Virginia—Laws 1929, c. 13, par. 19

#### PRIVATE DETECTIVES

##### *Full Citizenship Required*

California—Act 2070a, Gen. Laws, sec. 3

Michigan—Laws 1927, Act. 383, p. 914

New Jersey—Laws 1918, c. 97, pp. 233-234

†Also such aliens as own more than \$500.00 in  
real estate.

New York—Gen. Bus. Law, sec. 71

Wisconsin—Wisc. Stat. 1931, 175.07, subd. (1)

PROMOTER OF BOXING OR WRESTLING MATCHES

*Full Citizenship Required*

Michigan—Laws 1919, No. 328, p. 578, par. 10

BILLIARD PARLORS OWNERS

*Full Citizenship Required*

New York—Laws 1923, c. 189, p. 236

Ohio—Reserved to municipalities under sec. 3659, 3670 of General Code

South Carolina—Laws 1924, No. 537, p. 896, par. 2

POOLROOM OWNERS

*Full Citizenship Required*

New York—Laws 1923, c. 189, p. 236

Ohio—Reserved to municipalities under sec. 3659, 3670 of General Code

CARD ROOM OWNERS

*Full Citizenship Required*

New York—Laws 1923, c. 189, p. 236

TO OWN SOFT DRINK ESTABLISHMENT

*Full Citizenship Required*

New York—Laws 1923, c. 189, p. 236

TO OWN DANCE HALL

*Full Citizenship Required*

New York—Laws 1923, c. 189, p. 236

TO GATHER OR SELL OYSTERS

*Full Citizenship Required*

Oregon—Code 1930; 40-801; 40-809

LOBSTER FISHING

*Full Citizenship Required*

Connecticut—Publ. Acts 1919-1929, Sec. 3338

\*\* Massachusetts—G. L. (Ter. Ed.) Chap. 130, sec. 104

TO OWN A DOG

*Full Citizenship Required*

Pennsylvania—Sec. 202, Act of May 24, 1923, P. L. 359

West Virginia—Laws 1925, c. 83, par. 6

TRADES

BARBER

*Full Citizenship Required*

Idaho—I. C. A. sec. 53-605

Iowa—sec. 2585-b13—par. 4, Code 1931

Wisconsin—Wisc. Stat. 1931, 158.08, subd. (2)

COSMETOLOGISTS

*Full Citizenship Required*

Idaho—I. C. A. sec. 53-1201

Wisconsin—Wisc. Stat. 1931, 159.08, par. (a)

TAXIDERMISTS

*Full Citizenship Required*

Maine—Lower License Fee, Rev. Stat. 1930, c. 38, sec. 92

HAWKER AND VENDOR

*First Papers (Declarations of Intention) Required*

Massachusetts—Chap. 101, G. L. sec. 22, Amended Aug. 3, 1931

PEDDLER

*Full Citizenship Required*

Massachusetts—G. L. (Ter. Ed.) Chap. 101, sec. 22

New York—Town Law, sec. 211

UNDERTAKER

*Full Citizenship Required*

Massachusetts—G. L. (Ter. Ed.) Chap. 114, sec. 49

FIREMEN

*First Papers (Declarations of Intention) Required*

New Jersey—Laws 1913, c. 363, sec. 5, p. 784

JUNK DEALERS

*Full Citizenship Required*

Virginia—Sec. 182, Tax Code

SALESMEN IN INTERNATIONAL FIRM

*Full Citizenship Required*

Michigan—Laws 1919, No. 399, p. 705, Amended 1921, No. 306, p. 567

MINING INSPECTORS

*Full Citizenship Required*

Illinois—Smith-Hurd Rev. Stat. 1931, c. 93, sec. 2

Kansas—49-207 RS 1923

Montana—Laws 1921, c. 160, p. 301

West Virginia—Code 1931, c. 22, par. 8

Wyoming—Rev. Stat. 1931, sec. 23-150

SHOT INSPECTOR

*Full Citizenship Required*

Kansas—49-255; RS 1923

SHOT FIRERS

*Full Citizenship Required*

Kansas—49-225; RS 1923

Wyoming—Rev. Stat. 1931, sec. 23-165

MANAGERS (MINE)

*Full Citizenship Required*

Illinois—Smith-Hurd, Rev. Stat. 1931, c. 93, sec. 2

GASMEN

*Full Citizenship Required*

Kansas—49-255; RS 1923

FIRE BOSS

*Full Citizenship Required*

Arkansas—Laws 1919, No. 486, p. 361

Kansas—49-255; RS 1923

Pennsylvania—Act. May 21, 1923, P. L. 481, sec. 6, Amend. by Act. April 7, 1925, P. L. 174

Wyoming—Rev. Stat. 1931, sec. 23-128

*First Papers (Declarations of Intention) Required*

Utah—1923 Laws Sec. 10, p. 18

\*\* With certain exceptions.

## MINE FOREMEN

*Full Citizenship Required*

Kansas—49-255; RS 1923

Montana—Laws 1921, c. 160, p. 301

Pennsylvania—Act. May 21, 1923, P. L. 481, sec. 6, Amend. by Act. April 7, 1925, P. L. 174

West Virginia—Laws 1925, c. 88, pp. 301, 317, par. 8, 47

Wyoming—Rev. Stat. 1931, sec. 23-128

## MINE EXAMINERS

*Full Citizenship Required*

Illinois—Smith-Hurd Rev. Stat. 1931, c. 93, sec. 2

Montana—Laws 1921, c. 160, p. 301

## HOISTING ENGINEERS

*Full Citizenship Required*

Illinois—Smith-Hurd Rev. Stat. 1931, c. 93, sec. 2

Kansas—49-255; RS 1923; Laws 1917, c. 237, p. 332, par. 3

## CHECK WEIGHMEN

*Full Citizenship Required*

Illinois—Smith-Hurd Rev. Stat. 1931, c. 93, sec. 26

## MINING BOSS

*First Papers (Declarations of Intention) Required*

Utah—Sec. 5-2-4, Laws 1933

## MISCELLANEOUS

## BANK DIRECTORS

*Full Citizenship Required*

New York—Laws 1919, c. 382, pp. 1109-11

Pennsylvania—Act. May 13, 1876, P. L. 161, sec. 12, Amended by Act. July 19, 1917, P. L. 1101

## TRUSTEES, EXECUTORS, GUARDIANS OR ADMINISTRATORS UNDER A WILL

*Full Citizenship Required*

Arizona—Rev. Code 1928, 2784

Maryland—Art. 93, sec. 53, Bagdy's Code; 1924 edition

Montana—Laws 1923, chap. 58, sec. 3043.3

\*\*\* Oregon—Code 1930; 19-104

Texas—Art. 166-177, Rev. Civ. Stat. 1925

## TRUSTEES—FOREIGN INSURANCE COMPANY

*Full Citizenship Required*

New York—Laws 1919, c. 382, pp. 1109-11

## DIRECTORS OR OFFICERS OF INSURANCE COMPANY

*Full Citizenship Required*

Louisiana—Laws 1920, No. 172, p. 274

## CONTROLLING INTEREST IN AN INTERNATIONAL TRADING CO.

*Full Citizenship Required*

Texas—Art. 1527, Rev. Civ. Stat. 1925

## STAKE MINING CLAIM

*Full Citizenship Required*

Nevada—Sec. 4120, Comp. Laws 1929

## TO SELL POISON

*Full Citizenship Required*

South Dakota—Laws 1929, c. 124, p. 149

## FARMER APPLYING FOR COUNTY LOAN FOR PURCHASE OF GRAIN SEED AND FEED FOR TEAMS

*First Papers (Declarations of Intention) Required*

Minnesota—Mason's Stat. 1927, sec. 740; Laws 1919, c. 49, p. 45

## BOAT PULLERS

*First Papers (Declarations of Intention) Required*

Oregon—Code 1930; 40-511

## MANUFACTURE OR THE HANDLING OF LIQUORS

*Full Citizenship Required*

Connecticut—Publ. Acts 1919-1929, Sec. 2735

Pennsylvania—Act of May 3, 1933, P. L. 252, Sec. 6

The citations of the laws and rulings indicate the age of these discriminations in the many states. A study of legislation introduced in the several states this year shows a very definite trend toward an increase in this type of statutory enactment. Seemingly extraneous legislation against aliens such as prohibiting fishing for lobsters, or owning a dog, or hunting, or angling, are but indices of the attitude which has prompted such legislation in part. It finds its ultimate end in the attempt to deny work to aliens in the public works program of Congress, in the reforestation program, and frequently in public relief plans. Yet such discriminations create unwarranted hardships: aliens are thrown upon the charities for their support and often, their carefully built plans, so often constructive and economically advantageous, are shattered. Furthermore, this distinction in employment is regrettable when viewed in the light of its effect upon any assimilation program that we may seek to effect among our foreign-born residents, and upon our ultimate economic

\*\*\*Applies only to property of minors which an alien is prohibited from possessing



recovery. This is the more confirmed by the statement of Justice Hughes in *Truax vs. Raich* (239 U. S. 33; 1915) in his decision in the Arizona law that sought to restrict employees in establishments engaging more than five persons to not less than 80 per cent citizens. Justice Hughes stated,

"the right to work for a living in the common occupations of the community is of the very essence of the personal freedom and opportunity that it was the purpose of the (14th) Amendment to secure. . . . (The opposite as it affects non-citizens) would be tantamount to the assertion of the right to deny them entrance and abode, for in ordinary cases they cannot live where they cannot work."

We cannot overlook the fact that the aliens in this country today number between five and one half and six millions and that almost all of them are undeportable. Many of them are aliens because they cannot become citizens: they lack the necessary period of time, they lack the relatively high naturalization fees or else they are unable to verify their arrival. If we do not grant to these groups the right

to work, we defer their Americanization process and impose upon ourselves the need for sustaining them through public charities. Furthermore, many of them are married and have raised American-born children; discriminations against that group handicap the education and welfare of our own native-born citizens.

The philosophy of caring for one's own—upon which tenet this form of discrimination is founded—must be modified, in occupational opportunities, to caring for all who are legally in our midst. The citizen, and the foreigner who has been legally admitted in past years to our shores, deserves prior consideration to the transient. To that form of distinction there can be no objection. But to discriminate between elements among our bona-fide residents is invidious and subversive of American ideals. Economically, politically, and historically this policy of discrimination lends itself to important consideration as another effect of the growing nationalism in this country and as another outgrowth of technical developments.

## THE COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### SEX RATIOS AND MARITAL CONDITION OF ADULT POPULATIONS OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF COMMUNITIES IN THE UNITED STATES IN RELATION TO POPULATION CHANGES

OTIS DURANT DUNCAN

*Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College*

THE first resource upon which the natural increase of a population depends is the absolute size of that population at the beginning of a given interval of time. Professor Raymond Pearl has made considerable study of this in his investigations of population growth.<sup>1</sup> The second resource which Pearl and the Malthusians in general recognize is the amount of subsistence available. However, in this brief discussion it is assumed that subsistence or the food supply will be plentiful for all practical purposes at all times. The third resource, or conditioning factor, one which most students of population have not emphasized sufficiently, is the sex composition of the marriageable portion of the population. Obviously, natural increase of the populations of armies, prison camps, mining communities, and other exotic groups which are composed almost entirely of persons of the same sex will be virtually nothing. Also, the more distorted the sex balance of any social group becomes, particularly if there is a great excess of males, the more the poten-

tial crude rate of natural increase of its population will be retarded.

From 1890 to 1930, there was a great shift in the American population from the farm toward the cities. During the earlier years of this period, the exodus of the farm population to the cities was somewhat gradual, but the World War and the restriction of immigration from foreign countries gave great impetus to this cityward movement from rural areas. C. J. Galpin and T. B. Manny estimate that from 1920 to 1929 the net movement of population from farms to cities averaged about 628,900 persons annually.<sup>2</sup> Since 1929, however, the net movement of population between cities and farms is believed to be in favor of the farms. It must be remembered that Galpin and Manny's earlier estimates did not take due account of natural increase in the farm populations, and therefore do not represent accurately the actual changes in the total numbers of people on farms. It is easy to exaggerate the decline in farm population between

<sup>2</sup> See *The Agricultural Situation*, United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Vol. 16, No. 11, November, 1932, p. 4. Also, Vol. 17, No. 5, May, 1933, pp. 4-5 for estimates on the reversal of the earlier trend of net farm-city migrations.

<sup>1</sup> See Raymond Pearl, *The Biology of Population Growth*, Knopf, 1925, p. 22.

1920 and 1930 on the basis of these estimates unless a correction is made for the net natural increase during this period.

The characteristics of the rural emigration of 1920 to 1929 were: (1) a drain on the farms of people in the earlier ages of adult life, mostly in the age group around 18 to 25; (2) a predominance of unmarried people leaving the farms; and (3) a greater proportion of female than of male emigrants.<sup>3</sup> These movements tended to deplete the farms of people in the highly productive ages of life both economically and biologically. Also, they had the results of effeminizing the large cities and of producing an excessive masculinity in the young adult population remaining on farms. As a consequence of this, the crude fertility rates of the farm population suffered a series of setbacks. However, this alone does not prove that actual births in farm families have declined in number. But at the same time the process of urbanization was characterized by a rapid depletion of the fertility of the migrants to cities from the farms. The net result was that the crude rate of natural increase in the population of the United States declined sharply between 1920 and 1930.

In 1929 the net movement of population in the United States swung back toward the farms. In some parts of the country, in Oklahoma for example, it is believed that the landward movement of the population began two or three years earlier.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Confirmation for these assertions may be found in part at least in C. C. Zimmerman's studies as well as those of other writers. See "The Migration to Towns and Cities," series by Zimmerman and his associates, *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, XXXII, No. 3, Nov., 1926; XXXIII, No. 1, July, 1927; XXXIII, No. 2, Sept., 1927; XXXVI, No. 1, July, 1930; *Jour. Farm Econ.*, X, No. 4, Oct., 1928; *Social Forces*, March, 1930; and many other recent studies by various authors.

<sup>4</sup> See O. D. Duncan, "Recent Changes in the Size of the Farm Population of Oklahoma," *Current*

However, up to the present time little is known of the nature and character of the people who are migrating from the cities to the farms. It is highly important that such traits as age, sex, marital condition, and many other descriptive qualities of this urban emigration should be known. There are some grounds for believing that to a great extent there has been a reversal in the selectivity exerted by this landward movement of population in contrast with the previous urbanward migration.

A rather complex factor indicating the probability of a reversed selection in the present rural absorption of population is unemployment in cities. For example, in 1930 there were in the cities of Oklahoma, having 2,500 inhabitants or more, approximately 217 male gainful workers for each 100 female gainful workers. But there were 443 unemployed males for each 100 unemployed females who previously had been engaged in gainful occupations. At that time 8.6 per cent of all male gainful workers and only 4.0 per cent of all female gainful workers were unemployed.<sup>5</sup> Of course, the crisis in the unemployment situation had not been reached in April of 1930 when the census was taken. But with this original discrepancy between male and female unemployment, it seems reasonable that as employment conditions have grown worse, the disparity against males in all probability has been increased rather than diminished, owing to the tendency of larger proportions of males than of females to be employed as unskilled laborers in the building trades, transportation, and industry, while women are employed in clerical, professional, sales,

*Farm Economics*, Okla. Agric. Exper. Sta. Series 49, Vol. 5, No. 6, Dec., 1932, pp. 110-113.

<sup>5</sup> These computations were derived from the *United States Census of Unemployment Bulletin*, Oklahoma, 1930, Table 2, p. 7.

small business positions, and domestic and personal services. This, it would seem, would have the effect of eliminating from the cities a large proportion of males, both married and unmarried, than of females.

Furthermore, female labor is relatively unproductive on farms at all times, and it seems that the comparative advantage of leaving the cities for the farms would be in favor of males rather than of females.

farm population, (1) unmarried males who resort to farms as hired men, and (2) completed families of unemployed male workers who go to the farms in search of a means of bare subsistence for their families. If these conditions are typical of what has been happening in Oklahoma, it is likely that they will hold true also, but to a greater extent, in the more highly industrialized areas in the older settled regions of the United States.

TABLE I  
NUMBER OF MALES FOR EACH 100 FEMALES 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER IN THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES  
AND OF OKLAHOMA FOR DIFFERENT TYPES OF COMMUNITIES BY MARITAL CONDITION IN 1930  
(Persons of unknown marital condition omitted)

MARITAL CONDITION AND AREA	RATIO OF MALES TO FEMALES IN ALL COMMUNITIES	POPULATION OF CITIES OF 100,000 OR OVER	POPULATION OF CITIES BELOW 100,000	RURAL NON-FARM POPULATION (VILLAGES BELOW 2,500)	RURAL FARM POPULATION (OPEN- COUNTRY)
United States.....	102.4	98.3	95.5	106.0	114.7
Married.....	100.6	100.5	100.1	101.5	100.6
All unmarried.....	105.1	95.3	88.7	114.1	142.1
Single.....	132.3	121.6	112.9	148.2	166.4
Widowed.....	42.8	35.0	35.8	48.0	67.6
Divorced.....	85.4	73.2	75.4	110.7	129.8
Oklahoma.....	107.6	100.4	97.0	107.4	117.3
Married.....	100.7	101.6	100.0	101.2	100.4
All unmarried.....	121.8	98.7	90.4	121.0	158.4
Single.....	156.2	135.5	125.1	161.3	180.3
Widowed.....	51.6	38.8	36.1	46.4	79.8
Divorced.....	87.2	73.1	69.2	100.3	141.9

Source: These figures have been derived from United States Census, Volume III, Part I, 1930, Tables 25 ff.

Also, there is the added necessity for unemployed males with families to find some means of subsistence for those dependent upon them. Probably the farm offers a greater attraction than any other place to those forced to live on a minimum subsistence level because it greatly reduces the cash outlay for house rent, fuel, lights, and also for food. Therefore, it seems likely that most of the economic factors responsible for the depopulation of cities probably tend to replenish mostly two classes of the

Whether the preceding deductions are correct or not, and whatever may be the causes, there is at the present time a greatly distorted sex balance in farm population in the form of excessive masculinity particularly in that part of the adult farm population which has never been married. Table I shows a comparison of the sex ratios and the marital condition of the populations of different types of communities in the United States.

In the total adult population of the



United States the sex ratio is about what should be expected but is not evenly distributed among different marital groups. The excess of male births and the influence of foreign immigration combined give a small excess of males over females which is not an alarming condition. A deficit of males in comparison with females occurs among the widowed and divorced population. This is because men remarry after the death or divorcement of their wives more often than is true of women in corresponding conditions and do not always take second wives from women of their own status.<sup>6</sup> The comparison of the general population of Oklahoma with that of the United States as a whole shows that the same tendencies exist in Oklahoma but upon a more exaggerated scale.<sup>7</sup>

In the Oklahoma population there is an excess of males over females among the population 15 years of age and over in all types of communities except the cities of less than 100,000 population where there is a male deficit of three for each 100 females. As in the total population of the country, there is only an insignificant male excess among the married population in all types of communities. This is probably due to two things: (1) the influence of migration, for males migrating long distances particularly those coming from foreign countries sometimes leave their families behind, and (2) there may be a

tendency for males to give occasional false reports to the effect that they are married in the hope that out of consideration for their families they may be given preference in employment or that a family would help them in other ways.<sup>8</sup>

The group which is most important in studying prospective population trends is the adult unmarried population. It may be assumed that among those already married the number of children reared per family will not deviate greatly from the general average of persons of similar economic and social status, if correction is made for the trend toward a decline in the size of families which has become evident during the past forty years. (See Table II.) However, the single, or never married, population presents a complicated problem. Among this latter class there is an excessive masculinity in all types of communities. But the general rule is for the masculine excess to become smaller as the degree of urbanization increases, and conversely to become greater in going from the city toward the open country. In the United States as a whole, in 1930 there were 166.4 males for each 100 females in the open country in contrast with 121.6 males for each 100 females in the cities of 100,000 inhabitants or more among the adult single population. In Oklahoma the corresponding figures were 180.3 males in the open country and 135.5 males in the two large cities for each 100 single females.

Owing to the great selective attraction of cities for widows and divorced women, there is a heavy excess of females in these conditions in the urban areas. Although

<sup>6</sup> For a more adequate interpretation of this point, see E. R. Groves and W. F. Ogburn, *American Marriage and Family Relationships*, Holt, 1928, Chs. XX and XXII.

<sup>7</sup> The separation of communities here was the same as that set up by the Census, except that cities of 100,000 population or more were subtracted out of the urban population. This makes possible a comparison of the marital condition and sex composition of the populations of four types of communities. Then the same division of the Oklahoma population was made for purposes of its comparison with the United States as a whole.

<sup>8</sup> The writer has found this to be especially true among the prison population and in other places where men are concentrated in great numbers. During the World War it probably was made use of in evading military service. At any rate social investigators find falsification as to family status rather common among men.

the actual numbers of widows and divorced women are relatively small, when they are added to the number of single women, a slight excess of marriageable women over men is found to exist in the cities, both large and small. But in villages and on farms, even this addition does not give enough marriageable females to equal the number of marriageable males.

The great distortion of the sex ratios in the adult rural population, both farm and non-farm, presents a grave problem. It

males among the total marriageable population of the nation in 1930. If all other factors controlling the natural increase of the population were operative without any restriction, the sex balance itself would make possible only about 95 per cent of the crude increase which might be expected on the basis of the total adult population. In addition to these, there are many highly complex psycho-social aspects of the problem which offer a fertile field for extensive study and research.

TABLE II  
POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES FROM 1850 TO 1930

CENSUS YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	NUMBER OF LIVING CHILDREN UNDER ONE YEAR OF AGE*	NUMBER OF LIVING CHILDREN UNDER ONE YEAR OF AGE PER 1,000 OF TOTAL POPULATION	AVERAGE NUMBER OF PERSONS PER FAMILY
1850	23,191,876	629,446	27.1	5.6
1860	31,443,321	934,583	29.7	5.3
1870	38,558,371	1,100,475	28.5	5.1
1880	50,155,783	1,447,983	28.9	5.0
1890	62,622,250	1,566,734	25.0	4.9
1900	75,994,575	1,916,892	25.2	4.7
1910	95,972,266	2,217,342	23.1	4.5
1920	105,710,620	2,257,342	21.4	4.3
1930	122,775,046	2,190,791	17.8	4.1

Sources: 1930, Fifteenth Census of the United States, Population Bulletin, Second Series, Table 20, p. 14; United States Census Release, Sept. 15, 1932. 1850-1920, Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, II, Ch. III, Table 1, p. 154; Ch. XIV, p. 1266.

\* Because of variations in the dates on which the census was taken in different enumeration years, these figures may be somewhat misleading. The incidence of births and deaths is not necessarily uniform throughout all the months of the year. Another factor to be considered is that probably there has been a great increase in the number of unmarried persons maintaining separate households both in cities and on farms, which, if true, has tended to reduce the average number of persons per family materially since 1850, and especially since 1890.

weakens the influence of the family upon rural society because nearly half of the adult men will be unable to marry, unless either they find wives in the cities or single women leave the cities to find husbands in the villages or farming communities. But even should the population prove to be easily transferable, it would not be possible for all unmarried men to marry. There were 105.1 males for each 100 fe-

From 1890 to 1930, as can be seen from Table II, the average size of the American family declined from 4.9 to 4.1 persons, or approximately 20 per cent. Part of this decline was, no doubt, due to the census definition of a family which includes all persons occupying a common dwelling, and may mean either a hermit living alone or a state institution housing several thousand inmates. Probably the decrease

in foreign immigration and the multiplication of multi-family dwellings and public institutions during recent years have materially affected the size of the census family in one way or another. There are other trends which these figures may reflect also. One of these, which was suggested in the footnote following Table II, is a probable tendency toward an increase in the number of unmarried people who maintain separate households. Also, with the growth of urbanization children probably leave home earlier now than formerly in search of employment, to enter college, and for other reasons. Then, the mechanization of city homes and many farms has released large amounts of labor which may have migrated from the household at the time of the census enumeration. All of these tendencies may contribute in a large way toward a decline in the size of the family, but may not affect the birth rate at all. But during the four decades intervening from 1890 to 1930 the number of children under one year of age has declined from 25.0 to 17.8 per 1000 of the total population, or a decrease of 28 per cent, in what approximates the crude live birth rate. This is the most reliable index of a declining rate of natural increase presented in this study.

If, as has been shown above, the sex balance itself will account for an offset of five per cent in the potential crude birth rate during the life of this generation, and if the crude birth rate continues to decline as rapidly during the next forty years as it seems it has since 1890, or an average of 0.7 per cent each year, and if the sex ratio of the adult population should remain constant, by 1950 the number of living births at the close of that year should be about 15.3 per 1000 of the total population. And by the close of 1970, continuing to decline at the same rate, it will have

fallen to 12.7 per 1000 of the total population.<sup>9</sup> However, the indications are that, probably due mostly to the restriction of foreign immigration since 1920, the excess of masculinity in the adult population will decline somewhat more rapidly in the future than in the past.<sup>10</sup> This will cause the numbers of males and females to approach equality. Although there probably always will be a slight male excess in the total population, a greater proportion of the entire population will be permitted to have offspring. To some extent this should operate as a check on the declining crude birth rate for the country as a whole.

The most disturbing factor in studying the crude birth rate is the greatly distorted sex balance among the village and the farm populations which are normally the principal sources of natural increase in the total population. However, there are signs of declining masculinity in the United States and that the negative influence of the sex ratios will be somewhat checked in the future. In 1910, females exceeded males in the populations of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, Maryland, and the two Carolinas. In all these states except the Carolinas the feminine excess was due to the presence of large cities. In North and South Carolina the

<sup>9</sup> Many writers have indicated that the population of the United States is about to become stationary. But as yet, there is little to indicate that serious students of the problem fear that the population will actually decline for a long time yet to come. Among the many studies on this point see P. K. Whelpton, "Population of the United States, 1925 to 1975," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIV, No. 2, September, 1928, pp. 253-270; also O. E. Baker, *The Outlook for Land Utilization in the United States*, United States Department of Agriculture Extension Service Circular 168, July, 1931 (Mimeographed), Part III, pp. 13-18.

<sup>10</sup> For confirmation of this see Fourteenth United States Census, II, 1920, pp. 107-141. Also Fifteenth United States Census, Population Bulletin, 2nd Series, 1930, pp. 12-16.

excess of females in 1910 was due to the disproportionate emigration of Negro males. Because of the heavy proportion of Negro population in these states, this gave a feminine excess. In 1920, Alabama and Georgia, in addition to the states already mentioned, had excesses of females in their populations. Again, the emigration of Negro males was primarily responsible, because there was still a male excess among the white population.<sup>11</sup> By 1930, New York and Maryland each had a small masculine excess, but New Hampshire, Connecticut, Tennessee, and Louisiana were added to the states having more females than males in their population. No doubt, as the newer areas become more fully developed commercially, the sex balance will become less distorted, even in the agricultural communities.

The greatest sex disparity is in the newer regions of the western states. But, in all census divisions of the United States, there was an appreciable decline in the excess of males over females between 1920 and 1930, and also for the decade from 1910 to 1920. Between 1920 and 1930 the sex ratio in the adult single population of the United States declined from 134.8 to 132.3 males to 100 females, which is a small decline but one which will probably become greater as time goes on. But even here it is thought that there is a competing factor in the form of a decline in the marriage rate and a further decline in the birth rate which has been induced by the depression. There is also another vexing question which no one can answer. It is generally agreed that the rapid urbanization of the population during the past three or four decades influenced the birth rates of those who left the farms for the city in a negative

direction. But will the birth rates among those now leaving the cities for the farms be swung upward again? If so, there may be some mitigation of the pessimistic predictions of most present-day population students. This may occur. Also, it is believed by some that in many sections, machines will be supplanted by human labor as they once superseded man power. If either or both of these things should happen, the result would be an appreciable tendency toward a check in the present decline in the rate of natural increase of the total population.

The problem of sex disparity in the populations of different types of communities in the United States arises immediately from the selectivity of domestic migration. However, the selectivity of inter-community migration with reference to sex is in itself a complex phenomenon. The causal factors involved in sex selection have their roots imbedded in many intricate social and economic conditions. At the present time the unemployment situation seems to be liberating a disproportionately large amount of male labor in the cities which, all tangible evidences indicate, is moving mostly toward the land. On the other hand, the comparative advantages offered females by agriculture, except for homemaking, are few and usually unattractive and this has tended to accentuate the flow of female labor to the cities. Foreign immigration, in the past, tended to offset the trend toward effeminization of the cities which proceeded through domestic migration. With the influx of foreigners greatly restricted, it is possible that when economic readjustments are finally realized, the tide of male migration will be turned more toward the cities in the future than has been true in the past. At any rate, the factors which have been responsible for this disproportionate territorial dis-

<sup>11</sup> The argument regarding the influence of Negro migration upon sex composition of the population may be verified by consulting the *Statistical Abstract* of the United States, 1931, Table 17, pp. 16-17.



tribution of the sexes have contributed in no small degree toward the decline in the crude rate of natural increase of this country's population. These facts, however, do not give adequate support to the current theory that the population trend in the United States will be perpetually downward. The business cycle and the culture cycle are familiar phenomena to economists and sociologists, and both these classes of students are becoming

aware of a population cycle, or at least a cyclical tendency in population growth. To a large extent specialization in labor has alienated the sexes from each other. Given such economic conditions as will permit both sexes to have a means of subsistence within the same territorial proximity, the natural attraction between them seems to be sufficiently great to insure an increase in the marriage rate and an ample population for all practical purposes.

#### TENNESSEE VALLEY REGIONAL PLAN

Recently a group composed of the administrative heads of the State Universities and Land Grant Colleges of the Tennessee Valley states met together to ascertain what steps might be taken in cooperation with the Tennessee Valley planning. Some preliminary considerations follow.

The choice of the Tennessee Basin as the location for the first national experiment in regional planning brings to the South a great opportunity as well as a great responsibility. The opportunity arises from the fact that the Federal Government has focussed the attention of the national agencies upon the development of a southern area. In embracing this opportunity the southern people are desirous that they shall not be placed in the position of seekers for patronage, advocates of sectionalism or greedy for speculative gains. The people of the Region must realize that while they may receive peculiar benefits they may contribute to the national welfare by cooperating in this endeavor to evolve a power yardstick, to coordinate power, navigation and flood control, to rationalize the use of land, and to so plan the development of natural resources that the maximum social benefit may be derived.

The responsibility placed upon the people of the South is of greater import. Under democratic institutions the value, the application, and the appreciation of the results of a plan depend largely upon the social alertness of the people involved. It is therefore the grave responsibility of the people of the South to cooperate in the initiation and execution of a plan to see that this experiment in rational planning shall not fail.

In order that this responsibility may be fulfilled it is necessary for the people of the South to realize that the Tennessee Valley Project is in reality a planning experiment on a vast scale. While it is an experiment for national planning, the South should realize as it has not realized that it could be made an opportunity for us to take an inventory of our whole resources, techniques, and organizations and to take advantage of the most unique experiment ever projected to develop its own adequacy and welfare and to make a major contribution to the national culture during the next two or three decades. The South should therefore set itself to the task of hard work, of planning for at least a period of ten years instead of, on the one hand, dealing in mere ideologies and talk and, on the other, scrambling for state advantage and position.

In order that the institutions of the South may shoulder their full share of the responsibility for regional planning and help clarify some of the matters not now fully understood they stand ready to consult with the Tennessee Valley Authority on the questions of how the objectives of planning are to be determined, the machinery for putting into effect the plans evolved, the proper finance of the social program, and the political action necessary for the accomplishment of the ends desired.

The state institutions now have programs of social betterment and they stand ready, with the advice of the Tennessee Valley Authority, to determine which of these should be strengthened and given precedence in the planned area.

There are also in the state certain agencies which maintain technical staffs for carrying into effect social plans. These should be coordinated with such technical staffs as are developed by the Tennessee Valley Authority.

## MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Contributions to this Department will include original articles, reports of conferences, special investigations and research, and programs relating to marriage and the family. It is edited by Ernest R. Groves of the University of North Carolina, who would like to receive reports and copies of any material relating to the family and marriage.

### SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE FAMILY\*

DWIGHT SANDERSON

*Cornell University*

IN THIS discussion of sociological research on the family I wish to present some general observations as to the objectives of such research and to raise two or three questions which seem to demand consideration.

First, I would point out that sociology is not concerned with solving all the problems of family life. As I have indicated elsewhere<sup>1</sup> there is a distinct field for a science of the family which would utilize the findings of various sciences, social, biological, and physical. Sociology has no monopoly on the problems of the family, for whose solution economics and psychology will be equally valuable. If sociology is to make any contribution of value to an understanding of family life, it will be in the analysis of certain aspects of the family which do not come within the purview of other sciences and in perfecting its own methods of scientific analysis.

Secondly, although I appreciate the importance of a comparative study of the family in other cultures and periods, I take it that our immediate problem is to learn

how to make a scientific sociological study of ordinary families here in the United States.

The first step in scientific analysis is the description of the phenomena. How shall the family be described for sociological purposes? Description should involve both the social structures and the social processes usual in the family group. By structure I understand those established or habitual personal relationships of the members of the family group which form its characteristic pattern of behavior and thus distinguish it from other groups. Without an adequate technique for the description of family structure,<sup>2</sup> we have no basis for studying the similarities and repetitions of these phenomena which will make possible generalizations with regard to them. I take it that all scientific procedure is an attempt to secure such generalizations as may be used deductively in their practical application to concrete family situations.

Our first step in the scientific study of the sociology of the family is, therefore, to establish certain categories of description

\* Presented at a Round Table of the Rural Sociology Section, Summer Conference of the American Sociological Society, Chicago, June 26, 1933.

<sup>1</sup> Science and the Changing Modern Family. *Journal of Home Economics*, XXII, 810-818 (Oct., 1930).

<sup>2</sup> A more detailed statement by me of methods of studying family structure will be found in a project statement "The Structure of Rural Families" in a bulletin of the Social Science Research Council, entitled *Research in Rural Institutions*.

which may be used in obtaining data concerning them. Obviously we cannot attempt to describe all phases of family life any more than the botanist can describe the whole reality of a plant. We shall be obliged to limit ourselves to what we regard, for our purposes, as the more significant structures of the family group and such as we can find means of describing with tolerable accuracy. So far the family research with which I have been connected has been chiefly concerned with an attempt to determine what categories are essential and how they may be accurately described. Considerable exploratory work will be necessary before we shall come to any general agreement as to just which categories are most important, and doubtless we shall never come to any final agreement, any more than the biologists do in the description of species. Research constantly reveals the significance of previously neglected structures which prove to be important indices of biological relationships. So in our study of family structures we will discover the significance of some whose importance was not at first apparent. But this should not discourage us from making an attempt at the best scientific description possible, for it is a question whether scientific description will ever be wholly completed.

In our effort to establish such categories for the description of the family we are at once confronted with the question of criteria for our selection. As far as the physical composition of the family is concerned, i.e., the number and kind of persons composing it, the task is fairly simple; but when we attempt to distinguish what are termed family structures, i.e., the established behavior patterns, the problem becomes more difficult. We at once become aware that these behavior patterns largely reflect the mores of our own culture and that we tend to describe those

structural characteristics which seem to us to be essential to family life under our existing situation. Obviously, certain of these characteristics are not essential for family life under other conditions. Do we not inevitably tend to describe family life in terms of values which seem to us essential to our understanding of the functions of the family group? Thus one category of family relationships which we may seek to describe is the degree of confidence which children have in their parents, and another is whether the mother is employed outside of the home. Why do we seek to describe these categories unless we consider them of importance and why do we consider them of importance except as they affect the stability of the family under our existing conditions? My query is, therefore, whether we can formulate any adequate set of categories for family description without first considering the functions of the family and coming to some tentative agreement as to the essential functions of the family group. In a recent article on "Limitations to the Application of Social Science Implied in Recent Social Trends," Professor Charles A. Beard<sup>3</sup> closes a very thoughtful analysis of this comprehensive social research with the following pregnant paragraph:

A revolution in thought is at hand, a revolution as significant as the Renaissance: the subjection of science to ethical and esthetic purpose. Hence the next great survey undertaken in the name of the social sciences may begin boldly with a statement of values agreed upon, and then utilize science to discover the conditions, limitations, inventions, and methods involved in realization.

I would seriously question whether it is possible to do any worth while research upon the sociology of the American family, except upon some such basis as that suggested by Professor Beard. If this be true, then a first consideration in socio-

<sup>3</sup> *Social Forces*, XI, 510 (May, 1933).

logical research of family life will be to establish a tentative statement of the functions of the family as a basis of testing their validity and determining whether they do or do not secure the values which we deem desirable, and, indeed, to test out these values and determine whether they are real and permanent or fictitious and fleeting. Inevitably values will change and any such statement of family functions must be regarded as tentative and subject to revision. This is essential to sound science or sound ethics.

Some recent contributions to the study of family life illustrate this point very clearly. Thus N. L. Whetten,<sup>4</sup> in outlining a research project on the Relationships between Family Organization and Consumption, seeks to compare the relation of consumption usages to a high or low degree of family "cohesion." He gives seven indices of family cohesion, but most of these are based upon the assumption of what may be called the paternal family in which the father is dominant. This is a perfectly valid procedure in areas where this type of family is approved, but it is questionable whether it is an adequate measure of family "cohesion" in areas where the equalitarian family is becoming the ideal, and it is an unfounded assumption that the paternal family necessarily assures more "cohesion" than a family in which there is true partnership between husband and wife.

Another interesting example is the "Instrument for the Measurement of Success in Marriage," recently reported by Jessie Bernard.<sup>5</sup> Although "success in marriage" is but one of several possible

criteria of the success of the family, it is obviously a most important one and might well be used as one index of family success. Furthermore it may be a very useful tool for measuring the relative importance of certain factors in marital or family relationships. But Mrs. Bernard very clearly points out that "the instrument is limited to one culture, one where individualism is strong and family solidarity weak. In a country like China, to use an extreme contrast, where women never even mention their husband's name, but refer to him simply as He or Him, such an instrument would be preposterous." Yet Mr. Whetten would call the Chinese family one with strong "cohesion." Obviously the categories of description of family life are necessarily dependent upon our assumptions with regard to what the family is or should be.

Still another example of the relation of values to family description may be seen in the matter of "rôles" in the family group. They are fundamental to description of family structure and patterns of family behavior, and their importance has been clearly shown by Groves,<sup>6</sup> recently by Cottrell,<sup>7</sup> and by many others. The concept which an individual has of his rôle is practically his definition of his function in the family. Obviously the rôle of the husband or wife depends very largely upon the family mores of their childhood homes and of their associates. In any study of the relation of these rôles, actual or desired, to other family relationships, the determination of what categories shall be

<sup>6</sup> E. R. Groves and W. F. Ogburn. *American Marriage and Family Relationships*, Chs. III and IV.

<sup>7</sup> Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr. "Rôles and Marital Adjustment." *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXVII, No. 2, pp. 107-115. "The rôle is the organization of habits and attitudes of the individual appropriate to a given position in a system of social relationships."

<sup>4</sup> Social Science Research Council, Bulletin No. 11. *Research in Farm Family Living*. John D. Black, editor. Project 39, pp. 196-200. New York. April, 1933.

<sup>5</sup> *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXVII, No. 2, pp. 94-106 (May, 1933).

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chosen will depend upon the concept of the rôle, and consequently upon the family mores or upon some ideal of the family. Thus in the Hindu or Chinese family the recognized rôle of the father is such that to study such categories as confidence of children or companionship of wife would be futile except to show total negative association. If most mothers worked outside the home and this was their recognized rôle, we probably would not study the relationship of "mothering," for it would have been surrendered to maternal surrogates and would not be expected of the mother. As a matter of fact do we have scientific evidence that "mothering" is essential for the best development of the personality of the child or is this simply a notion from which we are unable to free ourselves because of emotionally conditioned attitudes.

A final example of the need for establishing a working hypothesis of the objectives and values of the family as an institution is presented by the conclusion of Prof. W. F. Ogburn<sup>8</sup> that the erstwhile functions of the family are being so curtailed that the family is thought of "as an organization for rearing children and providing happiness," and that "the future stability of the family will depend much more on the strength of the affectional bonds." Professor Ogburn has very clearly shown the decline of certain former functions of the family, though he has not been so careful to describe the continuing importance and essential nature of some of these functions, and we may well agree with his general thesis that the affectional bond will be of more importance in the future. He shows

the trends, but whether these trends are desirable or undesirable for the maintenance of the family, and whether they are inevitable or may be challenged and re-directed in the interest of the family, he leaves in doubt, and offers no suggestions. That a certain relatively short-time trend exists proves nothing as to whether it is favorable or unfavorable to the continuance and stability of the family. Because the trend in cities and highly industrialized areas is toward herding families together in apartments and compelling the mother to work outside the home in order to maintain the family, does not by any means prove that these trends are desirable or inevitable, whether this occurs in Soviet Russia with a definite concept of the subordination of the family to the State or under a capitalistic society which tends to force its workers into much the same sort of a regimented life. To admit this is simply to accept Sumner's dictum that the mores are always right, or that whatever is is right.

From the standpoint of survival values alone, history shows that certain mores have led to decadence and extinction while others have made for advancement and survival. Are there not some values to the individual and to society in a family life which definitely seeks to maintain certain functions of the family merely because they give greater satisfactions and benefits to the individual and to society? Are there not values in maintaining a separate home, in doing a certain amount of household work, in the care of children, and in the enjoyment of home life, which cannot be secured under a more highly integrated and for some ends more efficient form of organization? Will the Russian peasant ever obtain the personal satisfactions and advantages under the factory system of collectivized farming and living in rural apartment houses with common

<sup>8</sup> "Social Heritage and the Family," p. 24 of *Family Life Today*, edited by Margaret Rich (Boston, 1928). President's Research Committee on Social Trends. *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, I, Ch. XIII (New York, 1933). Quotations from pp. 663 and 708.

eating rooms, that the American farm family has on its own homestead? If efficiency and industrial output are the criteria, the Russian or the industrial system may be vindicated, but if human values are primary, it may well be that we need to determine by strictly scientific methods, in so far as possible, what human values are obtained from the more traditional type of family life, and to what extent it may abdicate its former functions without thereby destroying its essential values.

Affection expresses itself and finds appreciation in the domestic acts of a common life. Remove the major part of the common life and there is little opportunity for the development or expression of affection. Affection cannot flourish in a social vacuum for it is dependent upon the sharing of emotional experiences. Domestic duties which overtax the strength of the individual may injure affection, but the entire removal of such duties leaves little content in which emotional experience may be shared and hence makes the maintenance of affection more difficult.

A functional analysis of the family introduces not only the question of values but also raises questions with regard to the data which are essential for family description. Malinowski,<sup>9</sup> approaching the family from the standpoint of functional anthropology, holds that parenthood is the chief function of the family. By this he means not simply reproduction but the nurture of the children, food, clothing and shelter. Certainly, as Ogburn states, this

is still the chief function of the family. But in the early history of the family it produced its own goods, and land came to be a chief asset, and the classical patriarchal family was largely a land or property-holding institution. The domicile, house tent or what not, was also an essential part of the family life and home ownership is still the ambition of many families. Likewise the securing of food, the nature of the food supply, and the methods of food preparation, very definitely condition the form of family life. My question, then, is whether these physical bases of the family's existence are not essential data for its adequate description. Is not the farm an essential aspect of the pattern of behavior of the farm family and can the behavior pattern be compared with that of a city family if we do not take the farm into consideration? I shall not attempt to elaborate this idea, for it will be discussed by the next speaker, but I call it to your attention because there seems to be a conflict between this point of view and that of what has been termed formal sociology, which demands a synthesis.

A totally different method of sociological analysis of the family is that of the formal sociologists, of which Simmel and von Wiese are outstanding examples. For them sociology is a study of the forms of human association. Becker's recent translation of von Wiese's *Systematic Sociology* makes clear the logic of his method, but fails to show us just how it may be utilized. According to von Wiese human association may be analyzed into action patterns or social processes. Plurality patterns—crowds, groups or abstract collectivities—are characterized by unique constellations of action patterns and social processes. "In the systematics of plurality patterns the task is therefore that of determining what kinds of social processes and their

<sup>9</sup> See B. Malinowski. "Parenthood—The Basis of Social Structure," in Calverton and Schmalhausen, *The New Generation*, pp. 113-168. The functional analysis of the family was further elaborated by Dr. Malinowski in the Messenger Foundation Lectures delivered at Cornell University in March, 1933, and to be published later.

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consequent relationships predominate in the various types of social structure."<sup>10</sup> Von Wiese gives no concrete illustrations of the manner in which he would use this logical system in the description of particular types of plurality patterns, but he insists that sociological description has nothing to do with content or with values, that it is wholly concerned with the forms of human association, i.e. the personal relationships of individuals.

A good example of an analysis of the family in terms of personal relationships is that of the Binkleys<sup>11</sup> in their domestic theory and four levels of domestic interaction, although they are concerned more with an index of the success of marriage and the family than they are with means of scientific description.

In an earlier paper on this topic, Dr. Foster and I<sup>12</sup> have advocated a type of sociological analysis which really combines the study of action patterns and of family functions. We there stated that sociology should give an accurate description of the established forms of relationship characteristic of different types of families and should determine their effect upon the individual, on the maintenance of the family as an institution, and on its function in society. We stressed the forms of relationship, but in our outline we recognized that these forms were connected with and conditioned by certain physical things and types of activities which give specific content to these forms

of relationship. We indicated the desirability of establishing the identity and significance of these forms of relationship by observing them in family life and establishing our categories *inductively*. However, our scheme of analysis was based on how the behavior patterns affected relations of solidarity or tension and considered the physical equipment and functional activities of the family only as they condition the family type.

My present conclusion is that a logical basis for the description of the family, or any other group for that matter, must recognize that the family is composed of individuals with established and characteristic forms of sociation, such as domestic interaction, dominance, tension, confidence, consensus, etc., but that these forms of behavior always involve physical things or physical acts which are essential to the functions of the group. The house or domicile is not simply a feature of the environment which conditions the behavior patterns of the family, but it is an essential part of these behavior patterns because the maintenance of the domicile is an essential function of the family group. As the effort to establish and maintain the family domicile decreases, the action patterns involving associative processes also decrease, for the objects of association are thereby decreased. If we accept the Binkleys' domestic theory it would seem obvious that there will be less opportunity for domestic interaction in a family living in a hotel apartment with all services furnished and with few objects of common attention and few common activities within the home, than in a household requiring domestic interaction for its maintenance. As long as we have bodies and live in a physical world, human association is not on a purely psychological or spiritual plane, but involves an

<sup>10</sup> Systematic Sociology of Leopold von Wiese, adapted and amplified by Howard Becker, p. 417 (New York, 1932).

<sup>11</sup> R. C. and F. W. Binkley. *What Is Right with Marriage?* (New York, 1929).

<sup>12</sup> Dwight Sanderson and Robert G. Foster. *The Sociology of the Family*. Mimeograph Bulletin No. 1, Department of Rural Social Organization, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station (December 1929). (Out of print.)

interplay of attitudes, an interaction, *toward* or *about things* which is essential to the maintenance of the particular form of association concerned. Thus, I have shown that the location and method of use of the land is an essential feature of the forms of association, of the action patterns, characteristic of different forms of the rural community.<sup>13</sup>

If the above reasoning be true, then we must not only establish the categories descriptive of action patterns which are most significant in family life, but we must agree upon certain functions of the family and what material equipment and processes are involved in them as essential features of the family group, so that our final description and generalizations concerning various types of families will include not only the forms of psychological interaction but the objects and functional processes with which they are concerned. Such a method of analysis would embody both that of LePlay and the functional anthropologists and that of the formal sociologists, such as von Wiese and others. Its ultimate utility would be in showing the relation of family functions to forms of association, and the forms of

association which are involved in family types with varying functional objectives.

The method of accomplishing such a description of family groups is another story. It will certainly involve the intensive study of many cases which will give us new insights into the relations involved and new indices of these relations, making use of the maximum of sympathetic interpretation, and which will be of the greatest service in dealing with the individual family clinically; but it will also involve the devising of methods whereby the data of family description may be analyzed quantitatively, for no valid generalizations with regard to the association of the various factors can be established scientifically, so as to permit verification and so as to be usable for prediction and application deductively, without some accurate measure of frequency.

If sociological science is capable of making any significant contribution to our knowledge of family life, it must first establish definite categories of description, it must then devise and test means for obtaining the data accurately, and finally it must find means of establishing the frequency with which given phenomena occur with relation to certain conditions before its generalizations can be usefully applied.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. the argument in my book *The Rural Community* (Boston 1932).



AGE GROUP CONFLICT AND OUR CHANGING CULTURE<sup>1</sup>

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THE conflict between the young and the old has been recognized rightly as recurring with each generation. Ross says,<sup>2</sup> "Each type exasperates the other. The elders resent the crude egoism and rashness of youth . . . its brazen proposals to alter the inherited culture patterns. . . . The slow pulse, the realism, the cool deliberation of age offend the eager and impetuous." Lowie in his study of primitive societies<sup>3</sup> states, "Any mixed assemblage will reveal the same (age) cleavage, the same clash of temperments that divides fathers and sons, mothers and daughters."

Notwithstanding this recognition, as Ross points out, "The youth-age conflict in modern society has received little attention." In view of this neglect of a subject of such vital and recurring importance I have recorded the form which it is now taking in a small community in Iowa. The community is almost entirely old American stock, Protestant and agricultural, thus the element of culture conflict between immigrant children, their parents, religious conflict, and class conflict of urban centers is largely eliminated from the equation.

In such a primitive group it is highly probable that the conflict is much less than in urban centers. In the rural districts the bonds of family life yet remain stronger than in the cities where the economic unity of the family has been almost completely broken by industrialization. It is a fact, however, that many of the new culture traits which are more established in

the cities have diffused to the community studied. This fact is so evident that one is forced to admit that even in the country they intensify the normal youth-age conflict. In fact, one would be tempted to call it "culture conflict" were the new traits of our culture diffused in a complex of social traditions. It is this factor that permits the conflict to remain in the "youth-age" category. Both youth and age are presented with the problems of devising a social organization which is adapted to the new material traits. Age attempts to apply the old sanctions which have been devitalized by the same new culture traits which they attempt to regulate. Youth uses the new tools in its revolt against the old standards. Both as yet, are failing to solve the more significant social problems.

## II

There are three distinct age groups in the community, the historical relations of which should be made clear. The first is the old people (those approximately seventy or older), whose children had matured before the advent of the recent change in material culture and the social problems incident thereto. The second group is the children of that generation, those now well into middle age. Their fundamental attitudes have been so well formed during the old era that, although they took up the new material culture, their behavior patterns did not crack under the strain of freedom offered by the devitalization of the social organization following the rapid mechanical development. Due to long established habits they continued behaving in the old patterns. From the standpoint of social, cultural,

<sup>1</sup> This is a portion of an "Ethnological Study of a Small Middle West Community" made in 1932.

<sup>2</sup> E. A. Ross. *Principles of Sociology*, p. 186 ff.

<sup>3</sup> R. H. Lowie. *Primitive Society*, p. 314.

and philosophical evaluations they are more closely in harmony with the old group than with the young. Yet their closer and more intimate contacts are with the latter. They are the buffer group. They present a tragic spectacle standing between the old and the new, doggedly clinging to the old standards and evaluations, only feebly aided by a devitalized social system, in their effort to pass on to their offspring the only standards which they recognize as right.

The third group is the young people, twenty-five years of age and under. Born in a new era, their heritage is a set of social evaluations without any vital backing—a conduct code which existed for centuries through the limitations inflicted by a material culture of which they have no memory. They are faced with new problems for which they have been given no solutions and in the solution of which they feel hampered by their elders.

In this paper I shall limit myself in so far as possible to the consideration of the problems of the third group. In order to get the proper perspective it will be necessary to consider these in their relationship to the attitudes of the other groups, because their new attitudes have developed from culture growth. This paper will be confined to age conflict in two spheres of social organization, recreation, and family organization. These two processes are so closely related that it will be necessary to consider them together.

### III

It is during the period of dating and high school, roughly from thirteen or fourteen years of age to eighteen or nineteen that the violent internal conflict of the family develops. This conflict between parent and offspring does not develop to a marked extent from disagreements over late hours or the company which one keeps with the

opposite sex. The great contention within the family is caused over the use of the family automobile and spending money. The early sexual development and sophistication of the young combined with the prolongation of their economic dependence upon their parents, together with the new high cost of courtship, brings the children and parents into sharp conflict.

The parents almost unanimously believe the family conflict to be greater now than in the days of their own courtship. The fathers say to their sons, "When I was a boy, I didn't have as much money to spend in a year as you have in a week." The mothers say, "We try to do so much for our children and give them all the money we can, but they only demand more. They don't appreciate what we do for them at all." The parents' opinions of their grown-up children are summarized by the adjectives "unappreciative" and "selfish." The children in turn look upon their parents as "tyrannical old fogies" who "are just jealous because we have good times."

The cause of this gross misunderstanding between parents and their children is probably for the most part due to the great change which has come about during the last decade and a half in the field of entertainment incident to courtship.

Even less than twenty years ago, courtship was carried on to a large extent in groups. Entertainment was largely a self-made group creation. Sociables were frequent. In the local paper from 1879 to 1900 notices of these sociables like the following averaged one each week.

A sociable will be held at Wm. Hickles next Friday. A cordial invitation is extended to all. Teams will be at the Baptist Church at 10:00 A.M. to carry all who would like to go.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *The Shell Rock News*, December 26, 1878.

Under such a system of transportation there was no conflict between parents and children. Moreover, the hour of arrival home was not decided by the young people, but by the drivers of the teams who also acted as chaperons. Although these parties were sponsored by church organizations they were open to all the young people of the community who wished to go.

Other events such as the lawn party described in *The News*, issue of May 22, 1879, were frequent.

**Lawn Party:** The lawn party given by Mrs. J. R. Clawson to her friend Miss Sade Copeland of Clarks-ville, Saturday evening was a very enjoyable one, and was attended by a large number of young folks. Croquet was the principal game of the evening. The refreshments consisted of ice-cream, lemonade and cake. All expressed themselves well pleased with the evening's enjoyments.

Groups of young people were interested in singing and classes were organized for its promulgation, and they also afforded opportunity for entertainment at which the two sexes participated at little expense and in activities approved and sponsored by the elders. *The News* for January 9, 1879 notes that,

The singing school is an assured success. Quite a good attendance was out last Friday evening and we believe over thirty have joined.

Debates and debating societies were organized for amusement. Such subjects as: "Resolved, that old bachelors should be taxed for the support of old maids,"<sup>6</sup> and "Which eat the most, fowls, ministers, or owls?"<sup>6</sup> illustrate the spirit of these societies.

Literary societies such as Philomathian were organized by the young people for

their entertainment. The program for November 30, 1878<sup>7</sup> is typical.

Programme of Philamathian Society, Nov. 30, 1878:

1. Roll Call
2. Lord's Prayer in concert
3. Music
4. Recitation
5. "The Seven Wonders of the World"
6. Original Poem
7. Music
8. Declamation
9. Election contest
10. Discussion "Which eat the most, fowls, ministers, or owls"
11. Recitation
12. Selection

During the winter coasting and sleighing parties were common. Large groups of young people met at various houses for candy pulls and pop corn parties. Occasionally stock shows came to town but these were rare compared to opportunities for professional entertainment today, and the young boys were not expected to take their "girls" to them upon every occasion.

This group entertainment of the home-made variety has almost completely disappeared. Although church sociables still struggle disheartendly for existence, they owe their persistence almost entirely to suggestion from the elders. The group which attends them is made up of the social misfits. Girls who are not able to secure dates because of extreme physical undesirability, others who have been reared "old maids," and a few who belong to the very religious families, are the female attendants at church sociables. One girl said, "The only ones who go to Church parties are those who aren't in on anything else." Upon being asked "Who goes to 'Epworth League' and 'Christian Endeavor?'" the typical girl says, "Oh just . . . and . . . and then . . . but her father is so religious that he makes her go;

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, January 9, 1879.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 30, 1878.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

she doesn't want to though." Or again she may reply, "Oh, just the dummies."

An issue of *The News*<sup>\*</sup> in 1879 records the following:—

The public croquet ground near the Central House is kept hot all day long by lovers of that healthful game.

- ✓ Today there are no tennis or croquet courts upon which the young people may play together and create their own entertainment, and if there were it is doubtful whether they would be utilized. Sleighing and skating are obsolete even though facilities for such recreation could easily be provided.

The one almost indispensable tool for recreation and courtship is the automobile. It was an item never omitted in the girl's description of what was necessary for a good date. "There is nothing to do in Shell Rock," say all the boys and girls interviewed. "If you don't have a car, you can't do anything," say both boys and girls. And the insistent demands of the young people for this necessary tool which must also serve the rest of the family, is, according to both boys and girls and their parents, the primary cause of dissension within the family. The problem of dividing the use of this family utility is a delicate one which, however, has not been intelligently attacked. Each boy is certain that his family will not, out of sheer perversity, allow him the use of the car for a date. His parents are equally sure that "He doesn't care whether they get to go anywhere or not." Both sincerely believe the other to be selfish. It is perhaps due to this uncertainty over the use of the automobile that dates are made casually and on the spot rather than arranged for at a later time. A boy never knows for a certainty whether he will have the family car until he is driving it

\* *Ibid.*, June 26, 1879.

out of the garage—yes, even out of the gate. Upon occasions, when dates have been made in advance, the young lady waits at home for her young Lochinvar who never comes for want of a car.

The young people have adjusted themselves to this condition. That is, they do not make dates in advance, but on the spot. When they do gain permission to use the car, they head for town, pick up a girl, and perhaps other friends, and go for a ride. If no girls are available, a youth finds a boy friend and drives to other towns until some girls are found. The boys make good use of the automobile while they have it, often running it two hundred miles in the course of an afternoon and evening.

There are various secondary conflicts which develop over the use of the automobile. One of these is the distance which it is driven. Parents who grew up in a sedentary social organization cannot understand the desire for mobility on the part of their children. Such parental opposition only breeds deceit, for the young people early learn the art of disconnecting the speedometer.

Violent conflict arises over accidents incidental to driving an automobile, such as tire blow-outs, burned out bearings, and other trouble which is usually outside the control of the driver. When such accidents occur, the boy is blamed for them. Although they are, as a rule, beyond the control of anyone, some of the most violent of family conflicts arise over such unfortunate events. It seems unreasonable that such an illogical attitude should be taken by mature adults. The extent, however, to which the children are the scapegoats, is illustrated by the outburst of an angry parent which was overheard. An adult of more than fifty years through his own carelessness, had driven into a ditch while turning a corner. Several of

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the party were injured and the automobile somewhat damaged. This mature adult immediately began cursing his son whom, although not present, he claimed to be the cause of the accident. The line of reasoning was as follows: "The damned kid is so girl crazy, that he has the car all the time and I never get any practice."

Unable to find logical reasons for not permitting their children to use the automobile the parents rationalize their attitudes in this way. Faced by conditions which they do not understand, and which they are unable to change, the adults seize upon anything which even remotely justifies their attitudes. Such illogical reasoning is common when people are confronted with new and undefined situations, probably due to a combination of two mechanisms. First, is the tendency and desire of all men to place the blame for unfortunate events upon some person other than himself. Secondly, it offers what appears to be a good logical reason to a confused father vainly seeking support in his precarious position in the topsy-turvy world which he does not understand.

The second cause of conflict between parents and their children is the demand for money. With the decline of home-made entertainment, there has developed the necessity for more money to be used for pleasure. Girls, when asked "What constitutes a good date?" reply, "An automobile ride to another town, ice cream or eats, and a show." The last is not as necessary as the others, but its inclusion makes an ideal date. Such entertainment costs a considerable amount of money, although not as much as in a city with "a more elaborate social life with its demands for club dues, fees for formal dances, banquets, taxis, and variety and expensive dress."<sup>9</sup> This problem is not faced di-

rectly by the parents. It is extremely rare for either boys and girls to have allowances upon which they can depend. Neither are they paid for their services performed in the family. Their spending money consists of whatever they can "coax out of" their parents on various pretexts and whatever they can earn from services rendered to people outside the family. It is at this period that their training in saving money breaks down and their ambition for the future is shattered.

The elders are confused as to the manner of managing their children in this era of social disorganization. While they still believe, theoretically, that the old established order should be maintained, actually, as individuals, they fall in with the new demands. The resulting conflict is disastrous to family harmony and the personality organization of both young and old. The actual situation is as follows: The parents firmly believe in the old way; the existing situation for the young demands money. Although the parents are opposed, they give in to their children's demands, after much coaxing and temper tantrums on each side, and are the gullible subjects for persuasion, lying, and deceit on the part of their children. In order to hide their feeling of guilt from other adults, the parents prevaricate to their friends concerning the manner in which they meet the demands of their children. I know of several instances in which parents have informed other parents that they allow their boys only one dollar per week for spending money. A check on the activities of the boys in question showed that they spent a minimum of five dollars per week, which came from no source except the family exchequer.

The most pitiful conversations to which I have listened, are those in which a group of parents stimulate each other with tales of how thoroughly they uphold the estab-

<sup>9</sup> Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown*, p. 141.

lished sanctions within their respective families. These men and women, for a few moments away from the actual dilemma, play the part of bold champions of the old order. But, alas, a check on the manner in which the problem is met in their family reveals that their bold and confident manner is only play-acting of an idealized self, and the lines which they speak are but verbalized day dreams.

The conduct of the young people is almost unrestricted by any outside factors of control other than teachings which have been ingrained since early youth. Some parents endeavor to restrict their children as to the hours of their return at night, with whom they keep company, and the places where they may go. Such efforts are futile. If the parents' half-hearted permission cannot finally be gained by persuasion, argument, or temper tantrums, they may be deceived very easily. The great mobility possible with the automobile soon puts one beyond the chances of observation by casual acquaintances who may possibly report to the family. There has grown up among the young people a close-mouthed loyalty to each other, which does not allow them to tell the old folks anything concerning the conduct of one of their age group even if they themselves do not approve. An interesting example is that of the case of one girl whose reputation was sterling among the elders. Yet for over a year she had been keeping company with a middle-aged man of the community whose reputation was far below par. All during the year, her conduct was known and the subject of gossip by her own age group. But not a word ever came out through one of the young people, and this in the face of the fact that many mothers held before their daughters the miscreant girl as an example of perfection.

The young people have adopted certain

adult approved institutions and practices as aids in deceiving their parents. Chief among these are the church and Sunday school, to which the parents, although they themselves do not attend, encourage their children to go. The most common practice is to go to Sunday School and "remain for church" during which time they go for car rides. Often they may not attend either church or Sunday school but ride to several nearby towns.

A group of activities, including practices glee club, band, school plays, and basket ball, have grown up around the school. These practices are held at night, and offer excellent excuses for going out. Occasionally, some of the children do not attend the practice at all, but these opportunities must not be abused so as to involve the possible chance of exposure. The parents do not know, however, when the practice is over, and such ignorance affords an opportunity for a ride of an hour or more. It is exceedingly rare for a parent to "get wise" to what is going on. Even the strictest parent cannot justly prevent his child from attending such commendable activities.

The spirit of independence, which is a normal development during adolescence, is intensified by the rapid cultural changes which have occurred during the last three decades. Formerly, fathers and mothers were adjusted to the culture in which they were living. The father taught his boy how to plow the land and plant the crops, how to repair the simple machinery and to raise hogs. The mother taught her girl to care for the house and children.

Now the parents are less acquainted with the every day crises than are their children. As a rule it is the boy who is able to repair a tractor or get the radio "to work." And he may condescend to attempt to explain the mechanism to his father who usually does not understand.

He believes that the new methods of farming are superior to the old and urges them upon a reluctant father. *Youth has to his advantage* the fact that the old ways are not bringing results in the form of profits. Age is failing and youth believes that it knows the way. Regardless of the truth of the latter it is evident that *experience* is only fumbling.

While the son is educating the father, the mother finds that she has nothing of a material sort to teach the daughter. The economic revolution has taken most of the domestic activities out of the home. The mother no longer needs to teach her daughter to bake, churn, preserve, dry, can or launder. The daughter is looking toward new endeavors for self-expression, endeavors even more foreign to her mother than to herself.

In this era of fumbling and groping age,

who can rightfully tell confident youth to respect and follow the social precepts of their elders? Youth demonstrates its superiority to the elders in many respects. Why should they heed the advice of those who look to them for guidance and assistance in many everyday problems? The demonstrated superiority of the young people makes them less suggestible to the advice of the adults. In short, it intensifies the adolescent's normal independence from the adults of the group.

These factors, that is, the breakdown of the old recreational patterns and the intensified independence of youth have severely strained the traditional agencies of social control. As yet no new methods have been developed to restrain the youth. No new sanctions have been evolved to fit the new age.

## RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### THE DECLINE OF JEWISH POPULATION DENSITY IN EUROPE

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THE present demographic trends within the Jewish population of Europe point to a continuous, sharp, relative decrease of Jewish numbers. This decrease is being occasioned by two factors: (a) the disintegration of the main area of Jewish population growth, and (b) the differential between the Jewish and non-Jewish rate of natural increase in every European country.

Present world Jewry emerged in the nineteenth century. At the beginning of last century the world Jewish population was estimated at 2,500,000, at the end of it, at 10,602,000, and in 1925, it was believed to have reached the total of 15,000,000. Most of this enormous expansion of Jewish numbers occurred in one section of Europe, which may be rightly called the feeding area of Jewish population. This section comprised several former provinces of Russia (Poland, Ukraine, White Russia, Lithuania, and Bessarabia), Rumania and Austria-Hungary. Territorially, these countries formed one continuous area. Politically, they were independent autocracies with a tinge of constitutionalism in Austria-Hungary. Socially and culturally they were of the Medieval period and economically very backward. In a word, spiritually and materially they formed a highly homogeneous zone. It was this zone that served

in the nineteenth and in the first decades of the twentieth centuries as the great reservoir of Jewish population and harbored between 69.3 per cent and 74.8 per cent of all the Jews of the world.

With respect to the highly urbanized Jewish settlements of Western Europe and America, the Jewish settlements of this area constituted the hinterland. It was the only major territory in the world which owed its increase in Jewish numbers in the last hundred years solely to natural accretion. Unlike America and Western Europe it attracted no Jewish settlers. Moreover, it was from this hinterland that continuous streams of Jewish immigration, which often turned into veritable currents, were directed to various parts of the world. How great was its rôle as purveyor of people for the establishment and strengthening of Jewish centers in many lands can be gleaned from the following fact: about four million Jews, half of the present population of this Jewish hinterland, left their native places for other countries and continents during the last 100 years. In much the same manner as the country nourishes the big city, Eastern Europe nourished the Jewish Diaspora, feeding with its numbers the dwindling communities of Western Europe and the rising ones of North and South America, Africa, and Palestine. It may



be safely stated that without the energizing influence and the numerical support of Jewish immigrants from this hinterland, many Jewries of Western Europe would have by now been emaciated, if not completely extinct.

During the last three decades, wars, revolution, secession, and a low rate of natural increase have greatly reduced the relative Jewish population density in the entire area of Jewish population growth and in its separate provinces. At the same time restrictive immigration laws have weakened, if not entirely destroyed, its usefulness as a hinterland in replenishing the dwindling Jewish population centers of the world.

Before the war, Russia constituted the major part of this Jewish population breeding area. Half of world Jewry lived in the Russian Empire where they formed 4.2 per cent of all the inhabitants. In 1926 there were in the Soviet Union only 2,600,000 Jews who made up but 1.8 per cent of the total population. In the next decade or two the Jewish relative density in the Soviet Union will decline considerably. The signs that point to that conclusion are unmistakable. First, the Jewish rate of natural increase in the Soviet Union is very much lower than that of non-Jews. Thus in 1926 for the entire territory of all the Soviet Republics the rate of natural increase for the White Russians was 26.91; for the Ukrainians, 24.31; for the Great Russians, 22.64; and for the Jews, 14.97. Second, the fast mounting rate of Russian-Jewish intermarriages, which is a resultant of the Soviet's relentless attack on the structure of the bourgeois family, the ban on religion, and the growing participation of Jews in the mixed colхозes. For the years, 1924-1926, for which official Soviet statistics on Jewish intermarriages were made available, Jewish mixed unions have increased relatively 23 times as fast as the

total number of Jewish marriages (mixed and unmixed), while the Jewish homogeneous weddings have declined during the period both relatively and absolutely.

Poland was and still is an important part of the breeding area of the Jewish hinterland. Up to the end of the 19th century the Jewish population of Poland increased both relatively and absolutely. In 1816, the Jews formed 7.8 per cent of the total Polish population, in 1860, 12.5 per cent, and in 1897 rose to 14.05 per cent. But during the last 35 years the trend has been sharply reversed. In 1921, the Jewish relative density in Poland dropped to 10.97 per cent, in 1930 to 9.70, and in 1933 to 9.0 per cent. In the immediate future the Jewish relative density in the Polish Republic will decrease still more. This is indicated by the differential between the Jewish and non-Jewish rate of natural increase. The general rate of natural increase in Poland was in 1927, 14.5; in 1929, 15.3; and in 1932, 13.7. The Jewish rate of natural increase for the same years was 10.7, 9.5, and 8.3.

The number of Jews in Rumania has increased after the war through accession of territory. To-day Jews form 5 per cent of the total population. But in the coming years this density will diminish as the Jewish rate of natural increase to-day is considerably below that of the general population. The decline in the Rumanian Jewish rate of natural increase is indeed astounding. At the end of the nineteenth century the Jews multiplied at a much faster rate than the other elements of the Rumanian population. Thus for the years, 1896-1900, the Jewish rate of natural increase was 18.7 while that of the general population was 12.7. In 1927 the Jewish rate of natural increase sank to 5.4, while that of the general population remained about the same, 12.3.

Austria-Hungary, which also belonged

to the area of Jewish population growth, had been dismembered by the war, and no complete Jewish vital statistics are available for all its provinces. However, whatever data are available, point to the fact that the number of Jews in the two states is declining both relatively and absolutely. In Budapest live 217,000 Jews, 45 per cent of Hungarian Jewry. For the last few years the number of Jewish deaths in the city has been increasingly larger than the number of Jewish births. In 1930, Jewish deaths exceeded Jewish births by 973; in 1931, by 1,319; in 1932, by 1,588; and during the first four months of 1933 there were recorded in Budapest 564 Jewish births and 1,183 Jewish deaths. During all these years the non-Jewish population registered no decline. Besides, the Jewish population of Hungary is being in addition yearly reduced by the large number of baptisms and intermarriages, which since 1920 have averaged about 800 a year. Not much better is the situation in Vienna, which contains 200,000 Jews of the 250,000 that inhabit Austria. In 1931, the Austrian capital registered a general birth-rate of 9.1 and a death-rate of 14.2, and for 1932 the birth-rate was 8.1 and the death-rate 13.6. No separate statistics were made available for the Jews, but there is no ground to suppose that the Jewish vital indexes when constructed would present a healthier condition.

In the countries of Western Europe the Jewish relative numerical strength has been declining as fast, if not faster. In Germany, Jewish relative density has been steadily decreasing for the last fifty years. In 1880, Jews formed 1.24 per cent of the total population of Germany; in 1885, 1.20 per cent; in 1890, 1.15 per cent; in 1900, 1.04 per cent; in 1905, 1.0 per cent; and in 1925, 0.90 per cent. And this continuous

decrease, one should note, occurred despite the large and incessant influx of East European Jewish immigrants. In 1925 there were recorded, in the Reich, 76,387 foreign Jews, who formed almost 15 per cent of German Jewry. For the coming decades, many German observers, even before the advent of Nazidom, foresaw a rapid decline in the number of Jews. This, they pointed out, was to result from complete stoppage of immigration, the large reduction in the number of Jewish births, which for the last decade has not always balanced the number of deaths, the advanced age composition of the Jewish population, and the high intermarriage rate which averaged during the last fifteen years for every hundred homogeneous Jewish weddings more than 50 mixed Jewish couples. The Nationalist Socialist Government, by unleashing a severe brand of anti-Jewish economic and racial legislation, had checked a highly interesting sociological process: the absorption of the Jewish group through biologic and cultural assimilation into the German body.

For France, England, Belgium, separate Jewish vital statistics are not available. The indirect evidence, however, is that their relative densities are decreasing. In the past, their numerical position was upheld by Jewish immigration from the East. England, at the end of the last and at the beginning of this century, was one of the main by-stations on the lane of the East European Jewish immigration. It constantly harbored a large volume of Jewish transient immigrants of whom a certain residuum yearly remained in the country. France's native highly assimilated Jewish group would by now probably have been dissolved among the general population, if it were not for the periodic infiltration of Jewish immigrants from the East, especially from Alsace Lor-

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rain in the seventies of last century and during the Great War. Belgian Jewry has been also bolstered up by large numbers of Eastern Jews. With the cessation of immigration all these communities will have to rely on natural growth to maintain their numbers. Since they were not able to do that in the past, it is debatable whether they will achieve it in the future, considering that the Jewish rate of natural increase, according to all available testimony, is lower than that of the general population in almost every country, and

especially so in those where they have achieved a high degree of urbanization.

Southern Europe presents a like picture. Portugal and Spain have few Jews. Italy's Jewish population numbers less than fifty thousand. The rate of intermarriages among Italian Jews is very high, probably the highest in Europe, while the rate of natural increase is dangerously low. Some Italian Jewish communities, like Trieste and Padua, have been showing a negative rate of natural increase almost since the beginning of the century.

## ON THE PROVENIENCE OF NEW WORLD NEGROES

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### I

KNOWLEDGE of the provenience of the Negroes in the New World is basic to the study of New World Negro cultures, since to comprehend the cultural equipment with which these people entered upon their lives in the western hemisphere is essential in any successful attempt to utilize the materials gained from investigations of their present-day life for an analysis of the processes of cultural change and of the results of culture-contact. In the United States it has long been held useless to attempt to do more than refer African origins to such vague geographical regions as the Guinea Coast, the Congo, the Gambia, and the "interior," since it is felt that documents contemporary to the period of the slave-trade have recorded place and tribal names so poorly that accurate identification of the peoples brought to the western world is impossible. This view has been strengthened by the belief that the diverse cultures represented by these Africans, and

the multiplicity of mutually unintelligible languages spoken by them, promptly gave way before the impact of European civilizations, so that whatever African survivals exist are so few and so extraneous to the basic life of the Negro in the New World that they may be looked upon as cultural curiosities.<sup>1</sup>

The frequent restatement of these hypotheses has led to such definite stereotypes regarding Negro origins that most students fail to recognize the desirability of investigating anew the problem of Negro provenience. Two approaches may be utilized in such an investigation. One is historical, the other ethnological, and the two are not only related, but, in the study of this particular problem, depend definitely on one another. For, if African cultural traits are to be discerned in the beliefs and behavior of New World Negroes, and if these traits, when traced to their African counterparts, are found to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for example, W. E. B. Dubois, *The Negro*, (New York and London, 1915), pp. 148-149, or E. R. Embree, *Brown America*, (New York, 1931), pp. 10-11.

derive from the regions mentioned in the historical documents as the principal sources of the Negro slaves brought to the western hemisphere, then there should be reasonable grounds for deducing that these regions do in fact represent the areas from which the greatest supplies of slaves originated,—those areas, at least, which during the first century and a half of slaving furnished the cultural base for Africanisms in the New World.

## II

Let us examine some of the early sources which contribute to the current belief that the slaves were drawn from far in the interior of the African continent. Mungo Park<sup>2</sup> gives us the most definite information on record regarding the journey of a slave-coffle, yet he travelled no great distance in the light of the concept usually held of distances travelled by slave-caravans, his trip (from the country of the Bambara to the Gambia) though "a wearisome peregrination of more than five hundred miles . . .,"<sup>3</sup> being only half of that "thousand miles" so often encountered in the literature. Furthermore, his description of the delays he encountered throws light upon the value of estimates of distance based on a given number of days' travel to the coast.

Bryan Edwards, another contemporary writer often quoted, also speaks of the "immense distance to the sea-coast" travelled by the slaves.<sup>4</sup> Yet when giving details of the cases of Jamaican slaves he examined, it is only in that case of "Adam, a Congo boy," who "came from a vast distance inland," that his statement is

borne out. Of the others, four were from the Gold Coast, one was an Ebo " . . . about one day's journey from the sea-coast . . ." and of the remaining one, a Chamba, no information at all is given.<sup>5</sup> It must not be assumed that these citations from Edwards do justice to the scholarship of this author, for his careful enumeration of the tribal and regional origins of slaves in Jamaica during his time is of major importance for the problem being here considered.<sup>6</sup> He speaks of the Mandingos; of the Koromantyn, "or Gold Coast Negroes;" of the Pawpaw (Popo) Negroes from Whidah; of the Eboes, whose name, he cautions, applies (except for the Mo-coes) to all Negroes "imported from . . . the Bight of Benin . . . an extent of coast of near 300 English leagues, of which the interior countries are unknown, even by name, to the people of Europe;" and of those from Congo and Angola.

Certain other of the available contemporary documents may be examined. In the Royal African Company's "Estimates of each of their Forts and Settlements" of the year 1710, we find that Cape Coast Castle

opens a trade to Saboe, Cabesterroe, and Arkania, Cuffera, Dawnkra, and Ashantee,<sup>7</sup>

that Commenda

stands in the Kingdom of Aguaffoe, and opens a trade to the Kingdoms of Cufferoes, Dankarees, Ashantees, Arkania, Acqua, and Abrambo, for Gold, Slaves, Teeth, and Palm Oil,

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 126.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, Book IV, Ch. III.

<sup>7</sup> In all quotations and citations, the spelling of tribal and place-names given by the author quoted is followed; as, in the main, their modern counterparts are readily discernible. In those cases where there is a decided difference between eighteenth century and contemporary usage, it is not necessary to indicate the difference, since, again, these are generally known and recognized in the literature; e.g., the use of Fida or Juda for Whydah.

<sup>2</sup> *Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa* (New York, 1813).

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 257.

<sup>4</sup> Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies . . .* (3rd Edition, London, 1801), II, pp. 126-127.



and thus for all its forts from Annamaboe to Accra, all of them localised in the Gold Coast. Similarly "William's Fort at Whydah" . . .

prevents the Dutch and French from engrossing the whole Trade of that Kingdom, and produces great Supplies of Negroes. . . ,

while forts of the Gambia region also afforded great trade in slaves, it being stated that

. . . the Company have heretofore enjoyed the Trade of that River upwards of 300 Leagues. . . .<sup>8</sup>

The French also slaved in the same region. In an analysis of slaving operations carried on by ships from the important French center of Nantes, the following are given as the principal regions:

- a. *Le Sénégal*.—Cette côte . . . est interdite à la traite française par suite du privilège de la Compagnie des Indes, 'mais les Anglais ne sont point soumis à cet exclusif' . . .
- b. *Pays de Galawar et côte de Malaguette*. . . . On y fait la traite des noirs de Sierra-Leone au Cap de Monte . . . La traite reprend à Junko de Sestre . . .
- c. *Côte d'Ivoire et côte de Quaqua, du cap des Palmes au cap des Trois-Pointes*.—Ce sont surtout les Hollandais qui font la traite sur cette partie de la côte, grâce à l'appui que leur prête leur fort d'Axim . . .
- d. *Côte d'Or, entre le cap des Trois-pointes et la rivière de Volta*.—C'est la véritable centre de la traite nègrière, et là où l'effort des nations européennes a été la plus méthodique et le plus considérable. Sur un espace de soixante-quinze lieues on ne compte pas moins de vingt-trois forts . . .
- e. *Royaumes d'Ardra et de Juda*.—Les nègres y sont nombreux, on y trouve aussi quelque peu d'or, que les Portugais portent au

<sup>8</sup> Elizabeth Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, II, 109-113. These three volumes of documents (Publication No. 409 of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1930-1932), which deal principally with the trade as carried on by the British, are indispensable for any investigation of slaving operations.

Brésil. . . . Les nègres sont d'une excellente qualité; . . .

f. *Royaumes de Bénin et d'Aweri, entre le Bénin et le cap Formosa*.—On y trouve encore des nègres au Bénin et aux Grand et Petit Kalabar. Mais ils sont de qualité inférieure . . . Au-dessous de la rivière Camaron, il n'y a plus des noirs, mais on y traite encore utilement de l'ivoire, de la cire et du miel . . .

g. *Côtes de Loango et d'Angola*.— . . . Les noirs y sont très nombreux, surtout à Louangue (Loango), mais leur qualité est loin de valoir celle de la Côte d'Or . . .<sup>9</sup>

The testimony of these eighteenth century documents shows the coastal limits of the operations of the slavers. How far into the interior was the trade carried on by native marauders? Was this as far as is generally thought to be the case? Bosman, writing of Whydah in the early eighteenth century, says,

But if there happen to be no Stock of Slaves, the Factor must then resolve to run the Risk of trusting the Inhabitants with Goods to the Value of one or two hundred Slaves; which Commodities they send into the Inland Country, in order to buy with them Slaves at all Markets, and that sometimes two hundred Miles deep in the Country: For you ought to be informed, that Markets of Men are here kept in the same manner as those of Beasts with us.<sup>10</sup>

In the New World, some of the early writers queried the slaves as to their origin. In Dutch Guiana, Hartsinck made similar inquiry to that of Edwards in Jamaica:

De Ardras-Slaaven, die men ock wel Dongos noemt . . . worden te Juda (by ons Fida geheeten) en Ardra

<sup>9</sup> Gaston-Martin, *Nantes au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle. L'Ere des Négriers (1714-1774), d'après des Documents Inédits* (Paris, 1931), pp. 74-77, abstracted from a memoir of the "général du commerce" of Nantes, dated 1762. This volume, though not giving the original documents, does in a more restricted manner for the French slave-trade what Miss Donnan's work does for the British.

<sup>10</sup> William Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea* . . . (English translation, 2nd edition, London, 1721), p. 340.

aangebragt uit een zekere Landstreek wel vyftig Mylen ten Noordosten Ardra afgelegen . . . De *Nago*—Slaaven verschillen weinig van de voorgenoemden. . . De *Mallais*—Slaaven, dus genaamd naar de Mallais, een zeker Volk, dat hen te Fida, Ardra en Jaquin ter Markt brengt, komen van zeer verre, somtyds wel drie Maanden onderweg zynde, eerze aan den Zeekant naderen.<sup>11</sup>

Besides these, Hartsinck discusses the "Acqueras" Negroes, the "Tebou," the "Foin," the "Guiamba," the "Fida" and "Jaquin," and the "Ayois" (Oyo?); he speaks of the Negroes brought from "Goeree," "Sierra Leone," "Cabo Monte," and then continues,

De Negers van *Kaap la Hoe*, op de Goudkust, zyn . . . de meeste Negers die na Suriname en verdere Colonien gebragt worden, aldaar, als zynde de grootste Handelsplaats, ingekocht worden, voornamelyk van onze Natie. Zy zyn over het gansche Lyf getekend met figuren van Vogelen en Gediertes, en hebben meest om hun Nek een groote roode Zeeschulp hangen, welke so veel als haar Fetiche is: het zyn meestendeels sterke wel gespierde Karels; hoog van statuur; doch zo zwart niet. . . De eigenlyke *Delmina*—Negers zyn alle in het Crom (of Dorp) van D'Elmina geboren en onverkoopbaar, ten zy ze tegens de Wetten van 't Land gezondigd hebben. Maar de meste Slaaven die an St. George D'Elmina verkocht worden, komen uit Asiantyn of het Hantasche, Fantynsche, Alguirasche, Wassasche en Akimsche . . . De *Annamahoe*-Negers, doorgaands *Fantynen* genaamd, behoorende onder de Engelschen, . . . Onder de *Fantynen* worden mede gevonden *Akimsche* en *Asiantynen*: men kan tusschen deeze drie verschillende Natiën geen onderscheid bespeuren, dan alleen aan de Spraak; . . .<sup>12</sup>

He continues his list with the Accra, Abo, Papa, and Coromantyn Negroes, closing with the Loango or Goango types, which, he states, are most prone to escape to the bush. One of the sibs of the present-day tribe of Saramacca Bush-Negroes is the "Loango" sib, as will be seen below.

Another significant writer of the period was an inspector of the Evangelical Breth-

<sup>11</sup> Jan Jacob Hartsinck, *Beschryving van Guiana, of de Wilde Kust in Zuid-America*. . . (Amsterdam, 1770), II, 918-19.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 920-21.

ren Mission, sent to make a survey of the work of the Missions on the islands of St. Thomas, St. Jan, and St. Croix. His opening remarks throw light on the reasons for present-day confusion regarding African origins:

Diese ganze Küste rechnen die Seeleute zu *Guinea*. Es begreift dieselbe viele grosse und kleine Königreiche und Völker, die in der Sprache, in der Sitten und Gewohnheiten verschieden sind. Die Anzahl derselben wird bisweilen aus Missverstand vergrößert, welches die verschiedenen Namen, die einem Volke gegeben werden, veranlassen mögen. So heissen die *Fida* such *Wida*, *Gueda*, und bey den Franzosen *Juda*. Die Neger nennen eine ihrer Nationen *Kassenti*, die sich selbst *Tjamba* nennt. Oft nennt ein Schwarzer, den man um den Namen seiner Nation fragt, den Ort seines Aufenthalts in Guinea, den man leicht für den Namen einer Nation nehmen kan. Selbst diese Namen sprechen die Neger verschieden aus; sie sagen z. E. *Arrada* und *Allada*, *Kalabari* und *Karabari*, *Fong* und *Affong*; und wechseln also die Buchstaben, lassen einen weg, oder setzen einen dazu: daher ich nöthig fand, einen Namen oftmals und von mehrern aussprechen zu lassen.<sup>13</sup>

After cautioning his readers against confounding the terms "Moor" and "Negro," he considers the problem of determining Negro origins:

. . . wenn sie wahre Nachrichten von der Lage ihrer Länder geben, kan ein Europäer wenig daraus lernen, weil die Namen der benachbarten Völker, Flüsse, &c. wodurch sie ihre Lage angeben, ihm oft völlig unbekant sind; so wie den Negeren die Meilen oder andre Maasse, nach welchen wir die Entfernungen der Oerter messen. Sie berechnen diese nach der Anzahl der Tage, die sie zubringen, um von einem Orte zum andern zu kommen; wodurch nicht viel bestimmt werden kan, so lange man nicht weiss, wie stark ihre Tagereisen, und ob sie alle gleich stark sind. Die Schriftsteller, welche uns einige Nachrichten von dem Negerlande gegeben haben, sind entweder in

<sup>13</sup> C. G. A. Ollendorps, *Geschichte der Mission der evangelischen Brüder auf den caribischen Inseln S. Thomas, S. Croix und S. Jan*. Herausgegeben durch Johann Jakob Bossart, (Barby, 1777), p. 271. The entire section, from pp. 270 to 444, contains invaluable information concerning the Negroes living on these islands.

einer europäischen Handlungsniederlage auf der Küste wohnhaft gewesen, oder nur des Sklavenhandels wegen an derselben herum gefahren, ohne das Innere des Landes zu kennen. Ihre Nachrichten, welche man Auszugsweise in der *allgemeinen Geschichte der Reisen* findet, schränken sich daher vorzüglich auf die Goldküste, wo die meisten Niederlassungen der Europäer sind, und auf den Sklavenhandel ein.<sup>14</sup>

In spite of these handicaps, Ollendorp listed the tribes they named in geographical order from north-west to south-east. The first of these was the Fula, next the Mandinga ("welche von den *Mandongo*, die weit hinter *Loango* wohnen, wohl zu unterscheiden sind") of which tribe the two individuals he queried named among their neighboring peoples, the Jalunkan. Nearby lived the Kanga and the Mangree; one Mangree woman stated that her people lived not far from the Mandinga, and from another people termed Amina. Between the Mangree and the Gian, a nearby tribe, Ollendorp was told, ran a great river, and those whom this river separated spoke languages which were mutually unintelligible.<sup>15</sup>

Nun komme ich an die Nationen, welche auf der Goldküste, und von da ostwärts tiefer ins Land hinein wohnen, von welchen die meisten Sklaven nach Westindien gebracht werden.<sup>16</sup>

The strongest nation there, he was told, were the Amina, and of this group he queried five individuals, three of high rank in their native land. The home of one of these was one day, of the others fourteen days' journey to the sea-coast. These people made constant war with their neighbors, the Fante, Akkim, Okkran, Beremang, Assein, Kisseru, Atti, Okkau and Adansi peoples. Slaves representing

the Akkim, Akkran, and Tambi (not to be confused with the Tembu, also called Attembu), the Kassenti, also called Assenti (Ashanti?), and the Soko (or Assoko) are also listed, this completing the Gold Coast tribal names. Proceeding to the "Slave" coast, he enumerates the Papaa "die aus Misverstand *Popo* gennent werden," the Arrada (Allada), and the Watje.<sup>17</sup> He speaks of Fida, and of the Wawu,<sup>18</sup> whose neighbors he enumerates as the Tofa, Jani, Taku, Akisa, Fo, Dahomee, Fra, Bente, Naena, Gui, Guraa, Guastee, and No. Many of these names are readily identifiable as Ewe-Fõ place-names, and others are probably the names of small villages, each called a "kingdom."<sup>19</sup>

Thus it is to be seen from contemporary documentary evidence that the region from which the slaves brought to the New World were derived has limits that are less vast than stereotyped belief would have them.<sup>20</sup> This is also borne out when one takes into consideration the density of population in the West African coastal forested belt. The accounts given of slaving operations in Nigeria, in Dahomey, in Togoland, and on the Gold Coast, and the emotion with which the natives recounted traditions of man-catching that

<sup>17</sup> This is obviously an Ewe-speaking people, since Ollendorp states "Ihren König, der mehrere Fürsten unter sich hat, nannten sie *Fegan*." *Gan* is the Ewe word for "chief."

<sup>18</sup> Here again the name of a king gives us a clue to this otherwise unidentifiable people, for Atjuwi, their ruler, bore a Dahomean name.

<sup>19</sup> I have had the experience in West Africa of going to a small village, and having a man pointed out to me as king. The words for "king" and for "village chief" as for "kingdom" and "village" are the same in West African parlance, and this very fact would influence the accounts given to those who questioned the slaves in the New World.

<sup>20</sup> Limitation of space has prevented giving more than that fragment of the available material necessary to point my argument.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 273-74. The complaint contained in the last few passages of this quotation has an extremely modern ring!

<sup>15</sup> It would seem that these latter tribes inhabited the Ivory Coast, though I have not been able to identify them.

<sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 277.

had been handed down to the present day, bespoke the extent to which slaving was carried on almost literally along the coast.<sup>20a</sup>

Tradition also tells, however, of slaves who came from farther inland than the coastal forest belt; thus, in Kano, some six hundred miles from the sea-coast, I was enabled, by the courtesy of the Emir, to speak with several very old men who had actually participated in the slave trade, and whose families had trafficked in slaves for many generations. Two facts of significance came out of our conversations; first, that the raiding for slaves was usually to the southward of Kano, rather than to the north, and second, that, although the return trip to the sea took from eighteen months to two years, the long distance traversed was due to the fact that the Kano slavers, avoiding the country of the Yoruba and the territory of Dahomey, journeyed to the Gold Coast, where they found markets for their men and goods.

It must not be overlooked, however, that during the latter days of the slave trade, persons from South and East Africa and even from Madagascar were apprehended and brought to the New World.<sup>21</sup> On the West Coast, a careful report of slaving and other trading operations during this period shows that only in Senegambia (in the region of Cape Verga), and along the coasts of Liberia, Dahomey, Loango and Angola, was traffic carried on to any extent.<sup>22</sup> That some, perhaps in

the aggregate, even impressive numbers of slaves, came from the deep interior, or from East or South Africa, does not make less valid the historical evidence that by far the major portion of the slaves brought to the New World came from a region that comprises only a fraction of the vast bulk of the African continent.

With these historical data at hand, we may now turn to a consideration of the internal evidence in terms of an analysis of Africanisms that have survived in the cultures of the New World.

### III

At the southerly end of the New World area into which slaves were introduced lies Brazil, and between it and the United States, the northerly portion of the slave-belt, are found the numerous islands of the Caribbean Sea and the Guianas, all of them inhabited in large proportion by the descendants of Africans. There is but one study which attempts to consider these Negro peoples as a unit; and it is not chance that it was made by a writer whose experience in Africa was of the greatest. Sir Harry H. Johnston, in writing of the New World Negroes,<sup>23</sup> found no lack of African elements in their culture. His book is dotted with references to African correspondences of New World Negro customs, and the references, based on the comparison of what he saw in Negro behavior in the New World with what he knew of the civilizations of all Africa point, in the main, to areas within the region that has been delimited here as that from which a majority of slaves were brought. A statement of Johnston's on Brazil may be quoted in illustration of of this:

<sup>23</sup> Sir Harry H. Johnston, *The Negro in the New World* (London, 1910).

<sup>20a</sup> Cf. M. J. and F. S. Herskovits, "A Footnote to the History of Negro Slaving, *Opportunity* XI (1933), pp. 178-181.

<sup>21</sup> One Negro acquaintance informed me in conversation recently that, when he was a child, the two places in Africa that were invariably mentioned by his parents and their friends when slavery was being discussed were Madagascar and Dahomey!

<sup>22</sup> E. Bouet-Williaumez, *Commerce et Traite des Noirs aux Côtes Occidentales d'Afrique* (Paris, 1848), particularly Part II and map.



Of course in general mode of life, social customs, etc., the educated coloured people of Brazil are scarcely distinguishable from the Portuguese middle or upper classes, according to their means and social status. The peasants, however, away from the towns, lead a more African existence, and except that the house or hut may be a little superior to the average Negro home in Africa, manners and customs in domesticity are very little changed by the standard of the Gold Coast or Dahomé—not a very low standard, by the by.<sup>24</sup>

In Brazil, there exists a Muslam sect called Malé, whom the Abbé Etienne Ignace has described.<sup>25</sup> Their origin, according to him, is from various portions of southern and north-western Nigeria. However, another writer states that

Le qualificatif *malé* rappelle peut-être celui de *malinkés*, employé par les Mendingas, qui sont aussi des musulmans. Le vieux prêtre *musulmi* m'a assuré la plupart des *malés* de Bahia sont de Haoussa. Cette nation africaine a été jadis très puissante dans l'état de Bahia; elle formait une société si solidement assise sur la base religieuse qu'elle a pu provoquer plusieurs fois des séditions d'esclaves fortes et graves.<sup>26</sup>

Johnston agrees with the first conclusion, stating that their name "is obviously the race name of the Mandingo peoples of Senegambia," and remarking further that "I cannot but help thinking that . . . writers on the subject have overlooked the important Mandingo element in the slaves of Brazil."<sup>27</sup> Whatever the case as regards the Mandingos, the works of Dr. Nina-Rodrigues, the Abbé Etienne Ignace,<sup>28</sup> and of João Do Rio<sup>29</sup> leave no doubt as to the essential Yoruban character of Bra-

zilian Negro religious practice. Out of the mass of detailed correspondences given we may select some examples. In all of these expositions we read of the gods of the Yoruban pantheon, termed, as in Nigeria, Orisás, headed by the great god whose name is *Olorun* or *Olorung*. Ignace, who built on the work of the two authors named above, gives a list of fifteen of the gods of the fetish worshippers of Brazil, all of whom are Yoruban deities: Obatalà—the principal deity of the Brazilian fetish-worshippers; Esù—"C'est un mauvais esprit . . . la fétiche d'Esù est toujours derrière les portes . . ."; Sangô—the god of thunder; Yansan—goddess of the wind; Osùn—the "mother of the waters;" Osùn-Maurê—the rainbow; Yè-man-jè—the goddess of the sea; Ogùn—the god of war, "Son fétiche est une hampé de fer . . ."; Saponam—the deity of smallpox; Dadà—" . . . Dadà est la vieille grand'mère de toutes les déesses . . ."; Osa-Osê—a huntsman among the gods; Irocò—the god of a tree of this name; Orisc-Ifà; Osu-guinam; Gunocò; Oraïgna.<sup>30</sup> It is not only in name, but in function, that these deities indicate the identity of the Yoruban and Brazilian fetish worship. We see how Sangô is god of thunder in Brazil as he is in Nigeria, Ogùn the god of war; how at the rituals worship is performed for Esù (the Nigerian Eshu, called also in Brazil as in Africa by the name Elegbara as well) before it is performed for the other deities; how Irocò, a great tree, is held to manifest the same phenomena, such as the tree-trunk bleeding, as it does in Africa. Furthermore, in the organization of this worship and the explanations given concerning what is done and why, we find aspects that are strictly parallel to

<sup>24</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 105.

<sup>25</sup> *Le Secte Musulmane des Malés du Brésil, et leur révolte en 1835*, *Anthropos* IV (January-March, 1909). Quoted by Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

<sup>26</sup> Nina-Rodrigues, *L'Animisme Fétichiste des Nègres de Bahia* (Bahia, 1900), p. 16.

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 94.

<sup>28</sup> *Le Fétichisme des nègres du Brésil*, *Anthropos*, III (1908), pp. 881-904.

<sup>29</sup> *As Religiões no Rio*, Rio de Janeiro and Paris (not dated).

<sup>30</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 885 ff. I give here in addition to Ignace's list of deities, a phrase indicating what each represents as explained in his paper.

the customs and beliefs of the Yoruba.  
We find that Ifa,

représenté par le fruit spécial d'un palmier, . . . qui par phénomène renferme parfois quatre noix au lieu de trois, chiffre ordinaire . . . est le dieu des divinations par excellence . . . ;<sup>31</sup>

that each divinity has a color sacred to it, that must be worn by its devotees when worshipping it; that the priests are called *babalaos*, who, we are informed, "sont aussi mathématiciens et connaissent tous les secrets divins."<sup>32</sup> The organization of the cult-centers, the manner in which initiation into the cults of the several deities is performed, the mode of worship of each of these deities, as well as the use of magic charms to prevent ill luck, or to carry evil to an enemy, are such as to demonstrate further how closely analogous to Yoruban practice are even these phases of the religious life. Whether an investigation of other than religious aspects would reveal as close correspondences to African cultural patterns cannot be said. But the quotation cited from Johnston's work leads to the belief that this might well be the case.

Across the forests of the Amazon basin from Brazil, in the interior of Dutch Guiana, live the Bush-Negroes. For our purpose, these people constitute the most valuable source of ethnological information as to African origins, for one cannot go far into the study of their culture without realizing that it is an archaic West African culture, which, preserved in the isolation of the Suriname bush, has existed almost unchanged, while its parent cultures in Africa were evolving as a result of cultural growth from within and of cultural contact from without. All writers on Suriname have recognized the immediate African character of the culture of

these folk, and all have made some attempt to localize certain of the culture-traits with which they have dealt.<sup>33</sup> The most systematic study thus far made is that of Lindblom,<sup>34</sup> who, on the basis of a Bush-Negro collection in the Stockholm museum, and data contained in the literature, gives a tabular list containing point of origin of almost seventy cultural-traits.<sup>35</sup> Seven of these he attributes to the Indians, but for the rest, "Yoruba," "Ashanti," "Togo," "Cameroon," "Loango" are the names by far the most often mentioned, while occasionally "Sudan," or "Congo," appear. His conclusions are no different from those of others who have considered Suriname Negro cultural derivations. Thus, the entire Twi system of day-names is found unchanged, not only among the Bush-Negroes, but among the Negroes of the Guiana coastal belt, who have carried over many distinguishable African traits in addition.<sup>36</sup>

However, the published material does not entirely indicate just how definite is the evidence pointing to Africanisms among the Suriname Negroes. In two field-trips to Suriname, it was possible to gather numerous other examples of the most definite sort, ranging the fields of social organization,<sup>37</sup> material culture,

<sup>33</sup> For discussions of Bush-Negro history and culture see the article "Boschnegers" by L. C. van Panhuys in the *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West Indië* ('s Gravenhage and Leiden, 1914-1917), and numerous other articles in the same work, *passim*.

<sup>34</sup> Gerhard Lindblom, *Afrikanische Relikte und Indianische Entlehnungen in der Kultur der Buschneger Surinams*. Göteborg, 1924.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. iv, pp. 99-102.

<sup>36</sup> This list is given in the *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indië*, p. 501. A discussion of the ethnology of the Coastal Negroes of Suriname is given in a forthcoming volume *Suriname Folk-Lore* by M. J. and F. S. Herskovits, to be published by the American Folk-Lore Society.

<sup>37</sup> I have indicated certain correspondences in Bush-Negro social organization to African societies,

<sup>31</sup> Nina-Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

<sup>32</sup> Abbé Ignace, *op. cit.*, p. 895.

language, religion, games,<sup>38</sup> folk-lore, and other phases of life. Only a few examples can be cited here. Asked his designation, one Bush-Negro stated "*Mi Asante sembe*," "I am an Ashanti person;" and his pronunciation of the word "*Asante*" was that of the Ashanti themselves. One village is named Pempeh, after the old royal Ashanti name; another is called "Dahomey," while "Lame," reminiscent of the Togoland city of Lome, is another. "Malobi" (there is a Sudanese city of that name), is found on the upper Suriname river, as is the village of Godo (there is a city of Godome in Dahomey).<sup>39</sup> The name of one of the sibs is "Loango," another, with the Ewe name of "Kasito," (the people of Kasi), is also referred to as the "Dahomey" sib, while a third goes by the name of "Anago,"—the Nago (Yoruba) people. It is possible to find Bush-Negroes trapping small game by the use of a trap named *mo*, which, in form as in name, is the exact correspondent of an Ashanti trap figured by Rattray. The personal food-taboo carries the Loango name of "tchina." The methods of cicatrization, and the reasons for cicatrization, follow the pattern of Dahomey.

When we turn to the religious life, exact correspondences are numerous. Nyan-kompon, or Nyame, (also invoked as Kedi-yamo, Kedi-yampon), the great god

of the Fanti-Ashanti peoples, Asase, the earth mother, Osai Tando, ancient name for Tano, Opete, the vulture, and other deities; the Kromanti society among the men and the term for personal charm, "asumani" employed by the members of this group; the word used for soul, "akra,"—all are Gold Coast. Of the Ewe deities there are numerous examples; Le(g)ba, Gedeonsu, Afrikete, the Dagowe snake, Aisa, Aido Wedo, and Loko are worshipped in the same manner and for the same reasons as in their African home; while the Loango deity, Zambi, and Ma Bumba, are also known, and Vodũ, the Dahomean term for god, is heard. The drums that are employed in religious rites have recognizable African names; the tenor-drum, which is called by the Nigerian term "Apinti" (in the secret Kromanti language called "Asante-kogbwa"), and the great bass drum, called here "agida," the Dahomean word, not for the drum itself, but the drumstick with which it is played. Twins are held sacred, and are called by the Dahomean term "ho-hobi," while the palm-fronds that stretch across a path leading to a village to spiritually "disinfect," in true West African fashion, those who would enter with evil intentions, are given the Ewe name "azang." The tortoise has the Ewe name of "logozo," the priest's skirt of palm-fronds the Ashanti name "dosi," and the priest himself is called "komfo." Social dances, as well as religious ones, have their West African names; and I found that the Ashanti knew a dance called "Seketi" that is danced by the Bush-Negroes, while another, called "Awasa," in Suriname, I witnessed in Ashanti, where its origin was said to have been Hausa. A riddle found by Westermann in Togoland<sup>40</sup> which runs "I greeted the living, who did not

mainly Fanti-Ashanti, in a paper "The Social Organization of the Bush-Negroes of Suriname," *Proceedings*, XXIII Int. Cong. Americanists (New York, 1928), pp. 713-727.

<sup>38</sup> M. J. Herskovits, "Adjiboto, an African Game of the Bush-Negroes of Dutch Guiana," *Man*, XXIX (1929), No. 90, pp. 122-27.

<sup>39</sup> This may also be derived from the Togoland village *Togodo*, on the upper Mono river mentioned in D. Westermann's "Kindheits-erinnerungen des Togonegers Bonifatius Foli," *Mitt. des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen*, Abt. III, XXXIV (1931), pp. 44-45. Westermann remarks that Togodo "... war früher ein Mittelpunkt des Sklavenhandels."

<sup>40</sup> D. Westermann, *A Study of the Ewe Language* (London, 1930), pp. 234-35.

thank me; I greeted the dead, who did— (Ans.) Green and dead leaves,—the latter crackle," was told me in Suriname as "I go in the bush to hunt. I say to the living 'How-do,' they do not speak. I say to the dead 'How-do' and they answer." Two songs, the translation of which I was unable to obtain in Suriname, had words which were known to the Ashanti, who sang the same words to a different tune and translated them.

Closely allied in custom and speech to the coastal Negroes of Suriname are those of British Guiana. Cruickshank has shown many of these correspondences in the speech of the British Guiana Negroes<sup>41</sup>—correspondences which, for the Negroes of Dutch Guiana, both of the interior and of the Bush, point to Ewe and Twi linguistic stocks as the origin of definite words, and to the general idiom of the West African tongues for what seems to the English-speaking person the strange turns of expression given to their "taki-taki" or "Saramacca tongo."<sup>42</sup> Cruickshank has also shown<sup>43</sup> that the Ashanti game of *wari*, played in Dutch Guiana by the Bush and Coastal Negroes, is also played in British Guiana, thus giving an additional link in the chain of evidence which shows how widely this African game is played in the New World.<sup>44</sup>

There are few published data available for the study of the problem in hand in the case of many of the West Indian islands. Trinidad may be taken as an instance of this. Johnston, in his general work on the New World Negro, gives us only the

case of Daaga, a Popo Negro captured about 1837 with the Dahomean slaves he planned to sell to Portuguese traders, by a British war-vessel engaged in the suppression of the slave trade. The Africans, taken to Trinidad, were enlisted in the army, but wishing to return home, mutinied, and several were shot. Only one bit of evidence of an African survival on this island is available. This takes the form of a letter to one of the local newspapers.<sup>45</sup>

For seven nights the town of St. Joseph will be en fete. A Shangoo sect is affording the amusement . . . The tambours send forth their blatant sounds in the still air, accompanied by dancing and barbarous intonations of 'Way hee, Way hee, Alladoe. . .'

The African references need little explanation; "Shango," the Yoruban deity of thunder, has already been mentioned; "Allada," a city in Dahomey, is a member of the thunder pantheon of the Suriname Negroes as well. Another island, for which one has only a tantalizing scrap of evidence, is Martinique. Lafcadio Hearn, in his travels, visited the West Indies, and wrote of Yé, ". . . the most curious figure in Martinique folk-lore."<sup>46</sup> Yé, according to Hearn's characterization of him, is the exact counterpart of the trickster in the Dahomean cycle of tales of gluttony and trickery, who is named Yo.

As we turn to Jamaica, we find more complete descriptions of the Negro culture than for any other part of the New World, for not only have the Negroes who live here been discussed by such careful early observers as Edwards, Leslie, Lewis, and Long, but it is only from Jamaica that we have any systematic ethnological account of a New World Negro people.<sup>47</sup> As the

<sup>45</sup> The Trinidad Guardian, September 7, 1929.

<sup>46</sup> Lafcadio Hearn, "Two Years in the French West Indies" (New York, 1890), Ch. XIII, pp. 400-410.

<sup>47</sup> Martha Beckwith, *Black Roadways, a Study of Jamaican Folk Life* (Chapel Hill, 1929).

<sup>41</sup> J. Graham Cruickshank, *Black Talk: being notes on Negro Dialect in British Guiana*. Demerara, 1916.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. M. J. Herskovits, "On the Provenience of the Portuguese in Saramacca Tongo," *De West Indische Gids*, XII (1931), pp. 545-57.

<sup>43</sup> In a letter to the Editor of *Man*, No. 141, October, 1929.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. M. J. Herskovits, "Wari in the New World," *Jour. of the Royal Anth. Inst.*, LXII (1932), pp. 23-37.



description ranges from material culture to religious beliefs and folk-customs, tapping what is relevant from the older literature, it is not difficult to discern how much influence was exerted by the "Coromantyn" peoples of Gold Coast derivation. Quoting from Edwards,<sup>48</sup> Miss Beckwith<sup>49</sup> gives us a description of how the Kromanti Negroes celebrated an anniversary of death:

Each family has a tutelary saint who is supposed to have been originally a human being like one of themselves and the first founder of their family; at the funeral anniversary the whole number of his descendants assemble around his grave, and the oldest man, after offering up praises to Accompong, Assarci, Ipboa, and their titular diety, sacrifices a cock or goat by cutting its throat and shedding the blood upon the grave. Every head of an household next sacrifices a cock, or other animal, in like manner, and as soon as all those who are able to bring sacrifices have made their oblations, the animals which have been killed are dressed, and a great festival follows.

The account might be one of a similar ceremony in any part of the West African coastal region; the "tutelary saint" resembles in all particulars the Dahomean *Tobwiyi*<sup>50</sup> or the founder of an Ashanti "kra-washing group,"—those persons descended on the paternal side and held together by ties of a spiritual nature.<sup>51</sup> The names of the Jamaican deities lack no definiteness; "Accompong" is the Nyan-kompong of the Ashanti-Fanti peoples, and "Assarci" is their Asaase, both deities which, as has been seen, are worshipped by the Suriname Negroes to the

present day. As Miss Beckwith shows,<sup>52</sup> these deities are the gods of the heavens and of the earth in Jamaica, as they are in the Gold Coast. Another deity mentioned by Edwards, Obbone, is the one from whose name Miss Beckwith attempts to derive the origin of the word "obia" which is so widespread as a synonym for "magic," whether good or evil, in the West Indies, especially the English-speaking islands, and in Guiana. Whether this position is tenable or not is open to question. It is the opinion of Professor Westermann<sup>53</sup> that the word "obia" may derive from the worship of the Bia River in the Gold Coast; on the other hand, there is a statement by Johnston<sup>54</sup> that it "seems to be a variant or corruption of an Efik or Ibo word from the northeast or east of the Niger delta, which simply means 'Doctor.'"

The "day-names" of the Twi-speaking peoples of the Gold Coast have been retained as they have in Suriname, though in not as pure a form.<sup>55</sup> In the spirit world, the "rubba mama,"<sup>56</sup>—the river mother,—indicates that a West African importance is attached to the spirits of rivers. The Pukumerian sect, which Beckwith describes,<sup>57</sup> shows many of the same concepts that are found concerning the "small people of the forest," so universally revered in West Africa. The John Canoe dances are recognizable to any Africanist as the West Coast semi-ritual "play," and especially of the order of those ceremonies which, in the Fante country, are known as Homowo festivals.<sup>58</sup> The entire history, and such descriptions of the Maroon peo-

<sup>48</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 85-86.

<sup>49</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 78-79.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. M. J. Herskovits, "Some Aspects of Dahomean Ethnology," *Africa*, V (1932), 274-76, and M. J. and F. S. Herskovits, "An Outline of Dahomean Religious Belief," *Memoir 41*, Amer. Anth. Ass'n, (1933), 23-29.

<sup>51</sup> This is the group termed by Rattray, "Ashanti" (London, 1923), the *ntoro*, though there is reason to believe that this is not the correct native term for the patrilineal descent group.

<sup>52</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 105.

<sup>53</sup> Expressed in a conversation with him.

<sup>54</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 253, note 1.

<sup>55</sup> Beckwith, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. xi.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. J. B. Danquah, *Akan Laws and Customs* (London, 1928), pp. 128-129.

ple which we possess indicate that they are of Gold Coast tradition. In folk-lore, significant West African elements appear again and again. On the Island of Jamaica, as in Suriname, Curaçao, and the Virgin Islands, the Gold Coast Anansi is the hero of the animal tales, nor is there any lack of immediate correspondences in the stories that have been reported by Beckwith and others from these islands, as from all the rest of the New World, to folk-lore traits of definite West African origin.<sup>59</sup>

Though Cuban Negro culture has been investigated, here, as in the case of Brazil, the religious life has claimed the attention of students. In somewhat the same manner as Jamaican custom parallels that of Suriname, so Cuban Negro traditions are similar to those of the Brazilians.<sup>60</sup> From the point of view of the hypothesis developed in this paper, the following remark of Ortiz is not without significance:

El fetichismo es aún intensísimo en Africa occidental, de donde fué traído á Cuba.<sup>61</sup>

Like the Brazilian authors, he derives Cuban fetishism and magic from the Yoruba, as is apparent from the names of the deities in the Cuban fetishist's pantheon.

<sup>59</sup> The literature on New World Negro folk-lore is vast, and I can here only make a general reference to the volumes of the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, where, in numerous papers, Memoirs, and reviews of books, the data or references to works where they have been published are to be found.

<sup>60</sup> The ethnology of Cuban Negro religious life and the history of the Negroes in Cuba are to be found in the works of Professor Ortiz, his *Hampa Afro-Cubana*, which include "Los Negros Esclavos, Estudio Sociológico y de Derecho Público" (Havana, 1916), "Los Negros Brujos (Apuntes para un Estudio de Etnología Criminal)", "Madrid, (1917)", "Glosario de Afronegrismos" (Havana, 1924), besides numerous papers in scholarly journals on related topics. His work presents one of the few examples available of the utilization of the historical-ethnographic method employed here.

<sup>61</sup> *Los Negros Brujos*, pp. 46-47.

In Cuba, as in Brazil, there is convergence of the aboriginal African gods with Catholic worship, a significant fact for a study of acculturation. Thus:

También à Obatalá se le llama en Cuba el *Santísimo Sacramento* . . . Asimismo, á veces, aunque no con frecuencia representan á Obatalá por la imagen de Cristo crucificado . . . <sup>62</sup>

Besides Obatalá, other deities of the Yoruban pantheon are present; calling these deities *orishas* or *santos*, the Cuban Negroes make "Shangó, equivale a Santa Bárbara . . .,"<sup>63</sup> an identification that interestingly is the same as that made of the Dahomean thunder-god, Hevioso, by those who have been converted to Catholicism. As by the Yoruba and elsewhere in the region, "Shangó está simbolizado por una piedra meteórica."<sup>64</sup> The third of the trinity of great gods of the Cuban fetishist is Ifa,

que es el revelador de lo ocultos y el patrono de las relaciones sexuales y del parto.<sup>65</sup>

Ranking after this trinity are numerous *orishas*; *Yemanyá* or *Yemayá*, *Oshún* (a deity which Ortiz believes to be a confusion of Ogun and Eshu), *Ololú* (Olorun?) and *Babayú-ayé*, among others. Eshu is not unknown in Cuba, however, under his other names:

En Cuba es adorado *Eshú* en sus varias advocaciones, elamándolo algunos *Ichú*, *Eleguá*, à *Aleguá*.<sup>66</sup>

The worship of these deities, as in Brazil, follows aboriginal practice. Thus, in the employment of horns, carved wooden figures, and the like, as amulettes; in the beliefs concerning the soul; in the ritual of the worship of the gods; in the masked dancers who wear girdles of palm-fronds

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65.

there is presented to the student a picture that, in derivation, is in accord with that of the African ritual of these deities.<sup>67</sup>

In Haiti, also, the study of the survival of Africanisms may be profitably pursued. In this island the evidence points to Dahomey as the principal source of its Negro culture. This provenience, once more, is arrived at through the consideration of the names and functions of the deities worshipped by the Haitians. The very name given the cult, that of *Vaudou* (voodoo), gives us our first clue, for the term is obviously derived from the Dahomean word for deity, *Vodû*. This Dahomean origin of Voodoo worship has not gone unnoticed by Haitian students of the subject. Thus, Dr. Price-Mars states,

... la seule religion qui eut encore un cadre solide des traditions de discipline, une hiérarchie sacerdotale, capables d'imposer quelques-uns de ses rites à l'ensemble des croyances, ce fut la dahoméenne.<sup>68</sup>

Similarly Dorsainvil divides the Haitian deities, as to origin, into three categories, naming fifty gods derived, in his terminology, from the "Fons, Aradas, Mines, Bibis, Mahis," thirty-seven from the "Congos, Nagos, Ibos, Cangas," and finally, ten of Haitian provenience.<sup>69</sup> In the first group of these deities are Legba, Dambala, Ayido-Wedo, Aguasû, Loko, Tokpodû, Avleketé, Zo, Agbè-si (devotee of Agbè), Badè-si (devotee of Badè),

Agâmâ, Zofi-Badè, Sobo-si (devotee of So(g)bo), among others, and as is seen from Dorsainvil's discussion of their rôles, they have retained not only their names but their African functions.<sup>70</sup> In the second group are found Hogou-Obatala, Hogou-Chango, Ossange-Batagri, which are recognizably Nigerian, not only in name, but in the details of the manner in which they are served. Accounts of the ceremonials<sup>71</sup> indicate their West African nature, as do details of the cults, in which for instance, the Dahomean twin-worship is followed even to the item of naming the child born after twins *dosu* (as is also done in Suriname). There is little in the literature concerning the non-religious aspects of life. However, in Dorsainvil's list, there are a number of Dahomean totemic *Tobwiyo* included, while the one available account of Haitian coöperative agriculture shows full correspondence with the coöperative groups of the region of Africa<sup>72</sup> from which, on the basis of the gods worshipped by the Haitians, we may assume their forebears to have been derived.

#### IV

Thus we see that the Africanisms in the Negro cultures of South America and the islands of the Caribbean, not only point to specific regions in Africa, but that the evidence supports the hypothesis of provenience based on an analysis of historical

<sup>67</sup> The entire discussion in chapters ii-iv is important for the problem under consideration here. A short description of a Cuban fetishist ceremony, by Alejo Carpentier, and published in "transition," June, 1930, pp. 384-90, is valuable, in spite of its essentially literary character. A number of the deities discussed by Ortiz figure in the ceremony described by Carpentier.

<sup>68</sup> "Le Sentiment et le Phénomène Religieux chez les Nègres de St. Domingue," in *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire et de Géographie d'Haiti*, I (May, 1925) 35-55. This quotation is from p. 50.

<sup>69</sup> Dr. J. C. Dorsainvil, *Une Explication Philologique du Vodû* (Port-au-Prince, 1924), pp. 39-40.

<sup>70</sup> For names of identical Dahomean deities one may consult A. Le Herissé, *L'Ancien Royaume du Dahomey* (Paris, 1911), *passim*, or M. J. and F. S. Herskovits, *Memoir 41*, Amer. Anth. Assn. (1933) pp. 14-23 and 50-59.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. the description in E. C. Parsons, "Spiriti Cult in Hayti," in *Journal de la Société des Americanistes de Paris* (n.s.), XX, 157-79, of a Voodoo ceremony witnessed by her, as well as of other phases of the religious life of the Haitians.

<sup>72</sup> Compare R. B. Hall, "The Société Congo of the Ile à Gonave," *American Anthropologist* (n.s.), XXXI (1929), 685-700, with M. J. Herskovits, *Africa*, V, 267-270.

documents. Yet it is to be observed that, in our analysis, Yoruban, Dahomean, and Gold Coast tribal designations predominate in identifying place-names, names of gods, and details of religious belief and practice. What of the other peoples who, from Loango to the Gambia, also supplied the slave traffic? Unquestionably, insufficient data are responsible for the comparative absence of survivals from these regions of Africa. But it may be that, because of larger numbers and priority of arrival, slaves belonging to the tribal groups from the Gold-Coast-Dahomean-Nigerian region imposed their customs on the Negroes from other portions of the slave-belt. It must not be assumed, however, that everything from other than this central region was lost, though such survivals may prove more difficult to identify and segregate. Nevertheless, an hypothesis which involves postulating the cultural unity of West Africa, and which might account for the dominance of the cultures from the Gold Coast, from Dahomey and from Nigeria in the New World may be tentatively advanced. This unity, I believe, has not been recognized, though in such matters of basic structure as the inner organization of social life, and in types and functions of deities (though not their names), there is great similarity from people to people in the forest belt of the west coast, and in the country immediately to the north of the forested region. Granted that, as Edwards testifies for Jamaica, one type of slave—in this case the Gold Coast "Koromantyns"—was possessed of greater drive than other West Africans, then it would seem that such a group would, by sheer force of leadership impose their own place-names, names of gods, of rituals, of objects, upon the generalized pattern of West African behavior that was common to all the slaves. Such an explanation, however, in spite of its logic,

requires much more documentation before it can be viewed as other than a suggested lead for students of New World Negro culture.

That West African customs manifest an important degree of fundamental similarity does account for the unity in New World Negro culture. The shifting about of the slaves, and the policy of separating those of the same tribe, has operated to cause the retention of Africanisms in implications and inner structure rather than externals. That is why, when we search for intimations of definite sources of origin in the United States, we find a generalized expression of West African behavior, modified by or welded to customs derived from the European civilization of the masters. That there is much of this generalized African character in Negro behavior in the United States cannot be gainsaid, for many studies of "superstitions" and folk-customs of Negroes of the United States have shown that Africanisms abound in their daily life.<sup>73</sup>

Although Negroes in the United States are Christians, yet it is possible to see expressions of religious ritual that would not be out of place in West African tribal villages. One witnesses spirit possession, though by the "Holy Ghost," dancing with the identical steps and the same motor behavior that characterizes the worship of aboriginal African gods; singing that derives, in manner if not in actual form, directly from Africa. I have myself been present at a Negro communion service where the concept underlying the taking of the sacrament, as it was expressed,—

<sup>73</sup> Cf. such a work as N. N. Puckett, *Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro* (Chapel Hill, 1926). Puckett, in spite of the fact that his thesis is to indicate how much the Negro slaves obtained from the culture of their masters, actually gives an encyclopaedic amount of data which shows how much of African custom has been retained in this country!

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"If you take this Body and Blood, and you're not pure of heart, you'll get sick, it'll put you in bed! I'll see to it!", the warning of the preacher,—was that of the maker of charms on the West Coast, in Suriname, or in the West Indian Islands. Negroes are Christians, yet their dead must "cross the river Jordan" in a manner that exactly parallels that in which the West African dead must cross their rivers before they may reach the spirit world. The importance of wakes for the dead is African, as is the entire complex of ritual surrounding death, even to the "burying shallow" until arrangements can be made for a proper funeral, the passing of small children over the coffin, and the inclusion of food and money in the coffins. The souls of young children are called to accompany their elders on a projected journey just as is done in Suriname, in Dahomey, and elsewhere in West Africa. The behavior of those preparing for baptism, and the ceremony of baptism itself, follows that of cult initiation in Africa; the fear of "cussing" is allied to the seriousness of oaths; the improvisations of songs of ridicule are as known in the United States as they are on the West Coast of Africa, in Suriname or in the West Indies.

Finally, we may cite the speech of the Negroes of southern United States. A study of idiom of the Negro-English spoken in Suriname, as compared with that occurring in British Guiana, Jamaica, and the United States shows that the expressions which distinguish Negro-English from "proper" English recur in all these regions, as they recur in the pidgin of West Africa itself, while further analysis<sup>74</sup> shows that there are exact parallels in several West African languages for these idioms. Any good grammar of a West African tongue, indeed, explains the oddities of speech which it

<sup>74</sup> This analysis was made by myself in West Africa. The results are as yet unpublished.

has become customary to ascribe to the influence of Elizabethan English,<sup>75</sup> or to the grammatical perversions of a child-like folk.

Yet to point to a Senegambian name, an Ashanti deity, a Congo belief among Negroes of the United States, recognizable as such, is almost impossible.<sup>76</sup> We know from contemporary documents that the Gambia River, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Masse-Congo, Whidah, Fantee, Coromantine, Bassa, Bance Island, Angola, the Bight (of Benin?), Calabar, and Eboe (Ibo) were mentioned in the Charlestown slave-market during the days of the slave-trade, and that in South Carolina, "The favorite negroes were those from Gambia and the Gold Coast. . . ."<sup>77</sup> That the slaves who were brought to the continent were of the same stocks as those who were sent to the islands is not only confirmed from statements such as this but also from the instructions to masters of slave-ships, telling them where to proceed in the event of lack of success in selling the cargoes,— " . . . Antigua . . . Newis (Nevis) . . . So. Carolina"—and other documents concerning the transportation of slaves.<sup>78</sup> We

<sup>75</sup> E.g., in Guy B. Johnson *Folk-Culture of St. Helena Island* (Chapel Hill, 1931), *passim*.

<sup>76</sup> Despite the truth of this statement, a reading of the data contained in the paper by Zora Hurston, "Hoodoo in America," *Jour. of Amer. Folk-Lore*, XLIV (1931), 317-417, should convince the most skeptical that the Africanisms in American Negro worship are anything but negligible.

<sup>77</sup> Elizabeth Donnan, "The Slave Trade in South Carolina before the Revolution," *Amer. Historical Review*, XXXIII (1928), 809-828. But she also remarks "It is puzzling that marked differences between the negro tribes, regarded as so important on their arrival, seems to have been speedily lost sight of." P. 817, note 67.

<sup>78</sup> Donnan, "Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America," II, 327-329, Document 160, "Instructions to Captain William Barry," dated Oct. 7th, 1725. See also especially vol. III, 462-512, where, in a listing of Negroes imported into New York between 1715 and 1765, it is shown

can assume that Gold Coast Negroes were present in Virginia in the middle of the eighteenth century, from the form of the drum which, collected at that time from the Negroes of Virginia, now reposes in the British Museum,<sup>79</sup> and we can further assume the presence of Gold Coast Negroes from the survival of some of their day-names, such as Codjo, Cuffy and Quashie, in the United States, and from the fact that the cognate names of "Thursday" or "Saturday," are found among the Negroes of the South-eastern states. Or we may consider the "Place Congo" in New Orleans where the voodoo rites, transported from Haiti, were held up to a relatively short time ago. But these are only hints,

that only a small proportion (930 out of 4551) were brought directly from Africa; the remainder coming from the West Indies.

<sup>79</sup> D. I. Bushnell, Jr., "The Sloane Collection in the British Museum," *Amer. Anthropologist*, VIII, p. 67.

and do not constitute sufficient evidence. Generalized West African types of behavior are present among the Negroes of the United States, it is true, but on the basis of available data they are not of such a character as to localize provenience in the same way as can be done for Brazil, for Haiti, for Cuba, for Jamaica, for Suriname.

However, both from historically documented fact, and from the ethnology of the Negro peoples of the New World, it is evident that ample data are available to indicate the principal regions from which the slaves were acquired. To ascertain the details of the native cultures of these regions is merely a question of field research; with the results of such research in hand, the problem of knowing the cultural base-line from which the New World Negroes were launched into their adventures in the New World will be solved.

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## GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, CITIZENSHIP

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspects of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLIC BURDENS AND BENEFITS BETWEEN CITY AND COUNTRY

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THE war and post-war periods have been accompanied by a rapid increase in total tax burdens. Tax burdens have not only increased in amount, but the bases of these taxes have also changed. Taxes on common necessities by means of customs and internal revenue have declined in importance, while income and luxury taxes, based on the principle of ability to pay, have risen rapidly. There has also been a trend, especially in highway taxes, to tax according to the principle of benefits received.

These increasing tax burdens, the changing nature of the bases of taxation, and the variety of public services supported by tax revenues necessitate that the extent of these burdens upon the various social groups be determined. It is likewise important to determine their relative shares in the benefits derived from public services supported by taxation.

The present paper will compare urban and rural groups as to the relative public burdens they bear and their relative shares in the benefits resulting from these contributions.

The primary function of government is to benefit society as a whole. In performing this function, government may benefit

some particular individuals or groups more than others. Such special benefit may be incidental to the operation of government. Again it may be intentional on the part of those in control.

Since the function of government is to benefit society as a whole rather than any specific part of society, tax revenues raised to meet the costs of government should be derived from society as a whole rather than from any specific group as such. If avoidable inequalities exist between social groups within the society, it is of concern to society as well as of concern to the oppressed group that such inequalities be discovered.

Equality of burdens and benefits is probably impossible of attainment. However, it can be approached. Unequal burdens can be lessened only after careful and painstaking investigation into the economic ability of the various individuals and classes and the present distribution of burdens among them.

Distribution of benefits is even more difficult of measurement than distribution of burdens. In fact, no commonly accepted standards of measurement exist. But it seems evident that society is moving farther away from the principle of special benefit to special individuals and classes

and nearer to the ideal of distribution of public benefits in proportion to human needs.

The problem of distribution of public benefits is becoming increasingly important. Taxes are absorbing an increasingly larger share of our income in order to make public improvements or to finance governmental functions formerly left to private initiative. Are such additions to our standards of living distributed among various economic groups in proportion to the public burdens they bear, their need of such benefits, or their political influence? As governmental units take on more and more service functions, these questions become increasingly important.

#### 1. DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLIC BURDENS BETWEEN CITY AND COUNTRY

##### *Rural and urban distribution of national wealth and income*

Taxes are felt to be burdensome in the proportion that they entail sacrifice on the part of the individual or group. A comparison of the tax burdens of rural and urban groups, therefore, calls for a consideration of their comparative economic ability to meet these burdens. In order to determine such ability of rural and urban groups, it is necessary to have in mind the relation of agricultural wealth and income to the wealth and income of urban industrial groups.

The distinction between "rural" and "urban" as used in this paper is chiefly functional. By rural is meant the open country population. This is chiefly agricultural. Urban designates those having the functions of urban life whether they live in cities or villages.

The ability of rural and urban groups to pay taxes might be measured in several ways. In proportion to wealth, the share of the agricultural population has declined

from 25 per cent of the national wealth in 1900 and 26 per cent in 1912 to 14 per cent in 1930.<sup>1</sup> In the latter year, the agricultural population comprised 24.8 per cent of the entire population and 21.4 per cent of the gainfully employed. Agriculture, as an industry, owns less than 60 per cent of the wealth it otherwise would own if wealth were distributed on a per capita basis and but 68 per cent if distributed on a per worker basis.

From the point of view of national income, the share of agriculture dropped from 16.6 per cent in 1910 to 14.9 per cent in 1920, 9.3 per cent in 1928, and 8.6 per cent in 1930.<sup>2</sup> During the period 1920 to 1930, the proportion of the population classed as agricultural declined but 4.2 per cent and its proportion of the gainfully employed less than 1 per cent. In 1925, the farmers' income compared to the per capita income of the United States was but 39 per cent and in 1930 but 34 per cent. On the basis of gainfully employed, the farmer received in 1925 but 57.5 per cent of the average per worker share of the national income. In comparison, the manufacturing industry received 84.8 per cent, mining 97, construction 94, banking 211, mercantile 108, government 119, and transportation 108.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Data on national wealth from *Wealth, Debt, and Taxation*, "Estimated National Wealth," U. S. Census Bureau, 1922, p. 18. Figure for 1930 an estimate made by the National Industrial Conference Board. Data on Agricultural Wealth from *Crops and Markets*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Vol. 4, No. 7; Vol. 6, No. 7; Vol. 8, No. 9. Data for 1930 from *Fifteenth Census of the United States Agriculture*, Vol. 1, U. S. Census Bureau, 1930, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *The National Income and Its Purchasing Power*, National Bureau of Economic Research, 1930, pp. 94-98. Data for 1930: National income estimate of 78 billion dollars based on estimates of National Bureau of Economic Research; data on agricultural income from *Crops and Markets*, Vol. 8, No. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *The National Income and Its Purchasing Power*, National Bureau of Economic Research, 1930, p. 53.



A comparison of the rate of return on capital used in agriculture and the rate of return on capital used in other industries is also significant. In the period 1922-1928, agriculture earned 4.2 per cent on all capital invested and but 2.8 per cent on the operators' net investment. In 1930, the rate earned on the operators' net investment had declined to a deficit of 1.6 per cent.<sup>4</sup> In comparison, manufacturing a typical urban industry, increased average wages over 12 per cent from 1919 to 1929, and the value added by manufacture increased 29 per cent.<sup>5</sup> Cash dividend and interest payments during the same decade increased 237 per cent and dividends alone 367 per cent. While agricultural earnings were declining during the first two years of the depression, dividend and interest payments were actually greater in 1930 than in 1929. This increased return to industry is also evidenced by the increase in value of industrial stocks of 312 per cent during 1919 to 1929, and 264 per cent from 1920 to 1930.<sup>6</sup> These percentage increases are low since stock dividends are not included.

Using returns to labor as a basis for comparison, it is found that the average farm received a reward for farm labor and management of \$729 in 1929, while factory workers received an average of \$1,330. In 1930, the farm income had dropped to \$425, while factory workers received \$1,338.<sup>7</sup> The family wage of this last group may often be larger due to more than one worker per family.

Considering real income, the index showing the relative purchasing power of cash farm income available for living expenses during 1922 to 1929 averaged 68

(1919-1920 base) as compared with an average of 113 for factory employees during the same period.<sup>8</sup>

#### *General tax burdens*

Accuracy in measurement of tax burdens is impossible and figures given must be recognized as estimates only. There are many taxing authorities with overlapping jurisdictions, and in many states local taxing units are not required to keep uniform accounts or to report to central authorities.

Total federal, state and local tax collections amounted to 9.5 billion dollars for 1928 and 10.4 billions for 1930.<sup>9</sup> The federal government collected 3.6 billions of which income and profit taxes produced 65 per cent, customs 16 per cent, and internal revenue 17 per cent. Of the 1.7 billion dollars collected by the 48 state governments, 19 per cent came from general property and 81 per cent from all other sources. Personal and corporate income taxes accounted for but 7.9 per cent. Of the 5 billions of local taxes, 93.3 per cent came from general property taxes and less than 7 per cent from all other sources. Although the general property tax declined as a source of state revenue from 50.6 per cent in 1915 to 19.3 per cent in 1930, it is increasing as a source of local tax revenue. Revenue from business and non-business licenses to states has increased from 25.6 per cent in 1915 to 56.6 per cent in 1930.

The combined federal, state, and local tax bill of the nation still retains the general property tax as its chief support. General property still furnishes 48 per cent

<sup>4</sup> *Crops and Markets*, Vol. 6, No. 7; Vol. 8, No. 9.

<sup>5</sup> *Census of Manufacturers*, U. S. Census Bureau, 1929, Table I.

<sup>6</sup> *Survey of Current Business, Annual Supplement*, U. S. Dept. of Commerce, 1932, pp. 100-103.

<sup>7</sup> *Crops and Markets*, Vol. 6, No. 7; Vol. 8, No. 9.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Federal taxes, *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury*, 1930. State taxes, *Financial Statistics of the States*, 1930. Local taxes, *Cost of Government in the United States, 1929-1930*, National Industrial Conference Board, 1931.

of our tax revenue, income and inheritance taxes 28 per cent, motor vehicles 8 per cent, and customs 5 per cent.

*Rural and urban distribution of the tax burden*

In attempting to measure the relative distribution of the rural and urban tax burdens, several approaches have been made. One approach is the distribution

tobacco taxes, motor vehicle taxes, and fuel and other forms of sales taxes. Seventeen per cent of the direct taxes of state and local governments is contributed by farmers. Considering both direct and indirect taxes, it might safely be assumed that farmers bear 20 per cent of the nation's tax bill. At the same time they receive but 9 per cent of the national income

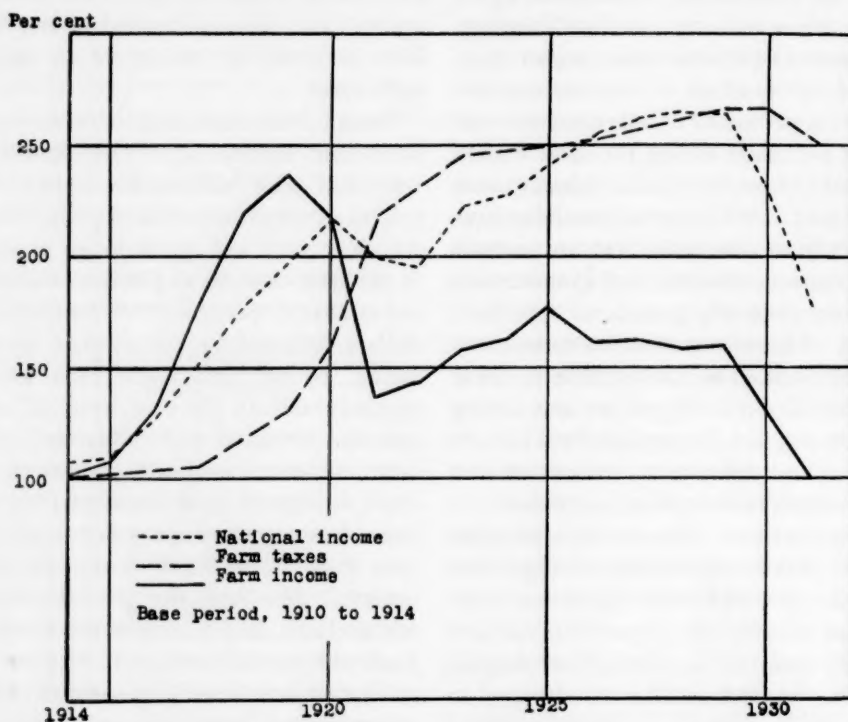


FIG. 1. GENERAL TREND OF NATIONAL INCOME, FARM INCOME AND FARM TAXES IN THE UNITED STATES, 1914 TO 1931

For sources see references 2 and 11.

of the total tax bill. Out of a total national tax bill of over ten billion dollars, agriculture pays approximately 950 millions in direct taxes.<sup>10</sup> To this amount must be added indirect taxes such as to-

<sup>10</sup> A conservative estimate based on the average tax on operator-owned farms and including rented property. Farmers pay but 10 to 15 million dollars in federal income taxes.

and own but one-seventh of the national wealth.

On the basis of income and taxes on operator-owned farms throughout the United States, taxes absorbed 28 per cent of the net income during the eight pre-depression years 1922-1929.<sup>11</sup> This does

<sup>11</sup> *Crops and Markets*, Vol. 6, No. 7; Vol. 8, No. 9.

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not include indirect taxes or the final incidence of tax shifting. Net income is here considered as gross cash income plus allowance for rent, food, and fuel produced and consumed on the farm, and deducting cash expenses and allowance for labor of operator and family. In 1930, taxes absorbed 88 per cent of this net income.

Intensive state studies of the relation of taxes to net farm income show that the proportion of net income absorbed by taxes ranged from 15 per cent in Arkansas, 12 per cent in Ohio, 19 per cent in Wisconsin, 27 per cent in Massachusetts, 38 per cent in Indiana and Pennsylvania, to 53 per cent in Colorado. A general average, if such could be made, might show that taxes in these states absorbed 30 per cent of the net income during the period preceding the depression.<sup>12</sup>

Intensive studies in Wisconsin and Pennsylvania show that in terms of net income, the tax bill on agriculture is triple that of neighboring urban communities.<sup>13</sup> From a study of income tax returns in Dane County, Wisconsin, Groves found that farms paid 19 per cent of net income in taxes, business 10 per cent, professions 4 per cent, and wages and salaries less than 1 per cent.<sup>14</sup>

Using cash rent as a measure of income, the data show that for the United States taxes absorbed from 15 to 72 per cent of

the net cash rent for farms, with an approximate average of 30 per cent. Intensive studies in 12 states show a range of from 15 per cent to 52 per cent of the net cash rent absorbed by taxes during the period from 1913 to 1928.<sup>15</sup>

Rural and urban comparisons of the ratio of taxes to cash rent show that, in general, taxes absorb a larger percentage of net cash rent of farm property than of city property. However, several studies show a larger proportion of net cash rent absorbed by taxes in the city than in the country. If strictly city taxes be excluded, all studies show a decidedly higher ratio of taxes to cash rent in the rural districts.

#### *Bases of taxation and rural-urban tax burdens*

In comparing rural and urban tax burdens, a consideration of tax bases is essential. The fact that rural taxes absorb a much greater proportion of income than urban taxes is due in large measure to the great importance of the general property tax in our revenue system.

When practically all income was secured from property, the general property tax was a fairly accurate measure of ability to pay. Today, however, with the growth of many forms of intangible property, together with income-producing occupations in which property is not required, the general property tax fails to reach many forms of wealth and income, or it discriminates enormously between individuals and classes. Since agriculture requires a larger proportion of real property than does urban industry, the general property tax falls with particular severity upon agriculture.

Inequality of assessment between rural

<sup>12</sup> The results of these studies have been summarized by Whitney Coombs in *Taxation of Farm Property*, Tech. Bul. No. 172, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1930. Other studies not included in this report: *Tax Burdens Compared*, Wisconsin Experiment Station Bul. 393, p. 18; H. M. Groves, *Ability to Pay and the Tax System in Dane County, Wisconsin*, University of Wisconsin, 1930, p. 11.

<sup>13</sup> F. P. Weaver, *Some Phases of Taxation in Pennsylvania*, Pennsylvania Department of Agriculture, pp. 30-31. B. H. Hibbard and B. W. Allin, *Tax Burdens Compared*, Wisconsin Experiment Station Bul. 393, 1927, pp. 4-12.

<sup>14</sup> H. M. Groves, *Ability to Pay and the Tax System in Dane County, Wisconsin*, p. 11.

<sup>15</sup> Summarized in *Taxation of Farm Property*. The data given above was compiled from the original state studies. The original state studies were also used in comparing the ratio of rural and urban taxes to cash rent.

and urban property often exists. Agricultural property is easy to discover, holdings are usually small, and local assessors are usually familiar with its values. Much income-producing property in the city escapes assessment, large holdings often escape their just burden, and local assessors are not competent to evaluate the diverse forms of wealth.

The income tax could reach many forms of income which general property tax fails to reach. Profits from personal property, income from professions and occupations which do not otherwise bear their share of taxation under the property tax could be reached by the income tax. This tax could reach the urban incomes and places a light burden upon the farmer. However, the income tax has been adopted in but half of the states and in only four of the states (Delaware, Massachusetts, New York, and Wisconsin) does it produce more than 10 per cent of state and local tax collections.

Rural dwellers are also less able to shift their tax burdens to others than are urban dwellers. In general, the property tax paid by the farmer cannot be shifted to consumers. Land taxes are not easily shifted and farmers are unable to control prices of their products. It is also difficult to shift these taxes to other producers, for the farmer and his family constitute the bulk of the agricultural labor, and tax shifting by means of capitalization is slight due to the slow turnover of farm property. On the other hand, urban producers through their greater control of prices are able to shift taxes on improvements and equipment to consumers, a large proportion of whom are farmers.

The incidence of the income tax is more simple than that of the general property tax. In general, it tends to remain where it is levied. Urban dwellers constitute the chief source of this tax and they, there-

fore, bear the burden; but only 25 per cent of our total tax burden is laid on incomes.

## II. DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLIC BENEFITS BETWEEN CITY AND COUNTRY

Part I of this study has surveyed the inequalities between tax burdens of city and country. Although no attempt was made to measure accurately the comparative tax burdens of these two groups, gross inequalities in the proportion of taxes to ability were found to exist. The state has not, therefore, placed its burdens upon these two groups in proportion to their ability to meet tax burdens.

Has it then used the principle of taxation according to benefits received? The measurement of public benefits between city and country or any other of our social groups is even more difficult than the measurement of burdens. Exact or complete measurement is impossible. The benefits from certain functions because of their nature or importance are more easily measured than are others. Furthermore, social groups are interdependent and public benefits are often intangible in nature. Comparisons must, therefore, be general in nature although exact measurements can often be made.

In measuring the benefits of public activity, two functions will be studied, education and highways. These account for half of the local expenditures and two-thirds of those of the state. The contributions for the support of these two activities and the benefits received by rural and urban groups can be determined in general.

Benefits may also be measured in terms of need and opportunity without regard to support. Social as well as individual welfare demands that the child in the most remote districts must not be denied adequate educational opportunity, and the most poverty stricken or remote district

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not be allowed to stagnate because of lack of communication facilities.

### *Types of public benefits*

The primary function of government is to maintain order and to provide for justice. In addition to its primary purpose, the state performs many other functions in order to promote the common welfare. Some of these have grown in importance and cost until they seem to absorb the public interest and resources as much as the primary function. Many are now of such vital importance to society that they cannot be distinguished from the more primary function. Thus the public is as dependent for its very life upon the health and sanitation activities of the state as upon the army and navy, and, in the protection of life and property and the maintenance of order, the school is of vital importance. An improved highway undoubtedly benefits the immediate territory and the individuals who have occasion to use it, but this special benefit is subordinate to the greater benefit received by the larger society through improved transportation and communication, removing ignorance, raising standards of living, widening market areas, and even improving defense in time of war.

We have then a wide range of public activities. On the one hand are those of the most fundamental nature where government is acting in the interests of the entire society; where benefits to special groups, if they exist at all, are incidental and not capable of measurement; and where the cost of such services is laid upon society as a whole with individual members contributing according to their ability, regardless of benefits received. At the other extreme, we have those governmental activities of a less fundamental nature or where goods or services are provided. To the extent that these activities

provide specific and measurable benefits, the cost is borne by the beneficiaries in proportion to benefits received. The great bulk of governmental activities range between these two extremes—from general welfare with only incidental benefits for certain groups to services which have measurable value to their beneficiaries. The burdens of government also range between the two extremes—the principle of ability to pay regardless of benefits received to the principle of benefits received with slight consideration of ability.

### *Distribution of public expenditures*

Just as it is impossible at present to make any accurate statement of the amount of taxes levied, it is likewise difficult to secure complete data for the functional distribution of governmental expenditures. Similar units of government have a wide variety of functions, and any particular function may be performed by a variety of governmental units. Also, funds are disbursed by other than the taxing unit itself.

Combined federal, state, and local governmental expenditures exceeded ten billion dollars, exclusive of interest payments, during the fiscal year 1929. The federal government spent 2.1 billions, the 48 states 1.8 billions, and all local units approximately 6 billions.<sup>16</sup> Protection and general government comprise the bulk of federal expenditures while but 7 per cent is spent for education, highways, and social welfare combined. On the other hand, highways absorb 35 per cent of state expenditures and education 30 per cent. Protection and general government together account for 14 per cent. In cities of over 30,000 population, 27 per

<sup>16</sup> *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, 1930: Financial Statistics of States, 1930; Cost of Government in the United States, 1929-1930; C. H. Woody, "Government Functions," in Recent Social Trends, Vol. 2.*

cent of the expenditures is for education and 18 per cent for streets and highways.

Comparison of the functional distribution of rural and urban tax expenditures is difficult due to the lack of comparable data. Only a few of the more progressive states collect and classify expenditures on this basis, and the situation in such states is probably not representative of all.

In Wisconsin cities, villages, and townships, expenditures for education comprise the largest single item in each of the three divisions and highways the second largest. Almost one-half of the township expenditures is for education, more than half in the village, and 35 per cent in the cities. Cities offer a greater variety of services than do the villages and townships. Townships spend 42.2 per cent of their budget for highways, villages 23.7 per cent, and cities 25.2 per cent. Expenditures for protection, health, and recreation are greatest in the city budgets, smaller in the village, and almost insignificant in the township. Roads and schools account for 90 per cent of the farmers' tax dollar, for 85 per cent of the villagers', and 60 per cent of the city dwellers.<sup>17</sup>

This general situation seems to be representative. The bulk of the farmers' tax dollar is absorbed by education and highways, while these functions require but 50 to 60 per cent in the city. In other words, the city tax dollar buys more services than does the rural tax dollar.

#### *Education—Schools*

The nation's bill for education amounts to over 2 billion dollars annually. Urban districts with 56 per cent of the population account for 62.5 per cent of this amount

and rural districts for 37.5.<sup>18</sup> On the basis of tax levy, however, education absorbs a much larger share of the farm and village tax dollar than that of the city. Since taxes also absorb a far greater proportion of farm income than of urban income, it is reasonable to conclude that education lays a much greater burden upon the farmer than it does upon the urban dweller. In spite of this fact, rural children receive fewer educational opportunities than do urban children, and these fewer opportunities are of an inferior quality.

The adult rural working population has a larger number of children to educate than has the city population. The 1930 census shows that in proportion to population over 21 years of age, rural farm areas have almost one child to one adult while there are almost 2 adults to every child under 20 in urban areas. The relatively larger number of rural than urban children, together with the smaller rural income, accounts for the smaller per pupil expenditures for education for rural children. Total per pupil cost on the basis of average daily attendance is \$75 for the rural child and \$129.80 for the urban child. On the same basis, one dollar is spent for rural school property and three dollars for urban. In competition for teachers, the rural school can offer less than half the salary offered by the urban school.<sup>19</sup>

Three-fourths of the rural elementary schools are one-teacher schools and enroll almost two-thirds of the rural elementary school children.<sup>20</sup> The rural teacher who has all grades and subjects to teach cannot do justice to her pupils.

<sup>18</sup> United States Bureau of Education, Rural School Circular, 1928, No. 27.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> Estimate by the Bureau of Education, Bulletin, No. 15, 1928. Only a part of these are farm children as the Bureau of Education includes as rural all places of less than 2,500 population.

<sup>17</sup> *Report of the Wisconsin Tax Commission, 1930*, pp. 30, 31, 37, and Tables 50 to 54. Excludes transfers, refunds, grants-in-aid.

The opportunities for high school education are also limited. Only 25 per cent of rural children of high school age are in high school compared with 71 per cent of urban children. High schools are often not available in rural areas or they may not offer work at all adapted to rural needs. The average rural high school with 4.3 teachers, enrolling 78 pupils, and with an average term of 156 days is handicapped in meeting the educational needs of its community compared with the average urban high school with 26 teachers, 672 pupils, and a term of 183 days.<sup>21</sup>

Taking 100 urban children of high school age, 71 are enrolled in high school, 39.8 will graduate, and 18 will continue their education beyond the high school. Of 100 rural children of high school age, only 25.7 are in high school, 15.5 will graduate, and 7.2 will secure the advantages of education beyond high school.<sup>22</sup>

In comparison with urban teachers, rural teachers are poorly paid and have far less academic preparation, professional training, and less experience.<sup>23</sup> Upon this less qualified group is placed the heavy burden of teaching a wider variety of subjects with inadequate equipment and in a shorter term.

Tests of educational achievement also measure the inequalities in opportunities for the rural and urban child. Wherever

objective tests are used to measure pupil progress, the child in the rural school, especially in the one-room school, is found to be retarded compared with the town or city pupil.<sup>24</sup>

The burden of education falls more heavily upon the farm than upon the city, but the benefits received by the farm child are inferior to those received by the city child.

There is a marked concentration in the cities of those who have received the advantages of higher education. Gross inequalities exist between rural and urban communities in the distribution of such essential services as physicians, dentists, and nurses.

#### *Education—Libraries*

Public libraries are supported principally by cities and towns. The large cities of the country spend 22.9 millions while the states spend 2.5 millions. No definite estimate can be made of the amount spent by rural communities. They bear their portion of the state tax and part of the expenditures are used for library purposes. Funds for school libraries in both city and country districts are often combined with general expenditures for education so that it is impossible to separate these items from data of reports.

Although libraries are more essential for rural people than urban due to the limited opportunities for education and contacts in the country, rural people are practically without library service. Only

<sup>21</sup> United States Bureau of Education, Rural School Circular, 1928, No. 44, Table I.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> U. S. Office of Education, *Statistics of State School Systems*, 1927-1928, Bul. 1930, No. 5.

Ernest Burnham, *Twenty Years of Progress in the Training of Rural Teachers*, Proceedings, National Educational Association, 1928, pp. 886-891.

R. D. Cole, *The High School Teaching Population of North Dakota*, University of North Dakota, School of Education, Bul. No. 5.

*Education in Wisconsin*, Biennial Report of State Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1928-1930, p. 64.

<sup>24</sup> *Educational Achievements of One-Teacher and of Larger Rural Schools*, U. S. Bureau of Education, Bul., 1928, No. 15, p. 4.

R. D. Cole, *Educational Achievement in North Dakota City, Town, and Rural Schools*, University of North Dakota, School of Education Bul. No. 9, Table XII.

M. J. Van Wagenen, *Comparative Pupil Achievement in Rural, Town and City Schools*, University of Minnesota, 1929.

6 per cent of the urban population is unserved by public libraries, but 82 per cent of the rural population lacks this benefit.<sup>25</sup> Since this proportion includes towns of less than 2,500, the strictly rural area unserved by public libraries would be considerably larger than above stated. The small town libraries are supported by the towns themselves and reach the farmers to a very limited extent.

County libraries supported by the entire county serve city and country alike, and seem to be the best way of reaching rural communities, but county libraries have been established in only 7.8 per cent of the counties in the United States.<sup>26</sup>

State library extension service furnishes rural and urban residents alike with traveling libraries, package libraries, and individual book service. This service at best, however, is merely a makeshift, for so small a number of people can be supplied.

The rural school library must do double duty because of the absence of the public library which usually exists in the city. Rural per pupil cost of school libraries seems appreciably greater than per pupil cost in cities, but because of small enrollments the library service available to the rural child is meager. Where county libraries are established, the pooling of school library funds with those of the county library makes possible increased facilities for the rural and urban schools alike.

#### *Public highways*

Due to the immense sums spent on highways and the fact that these expenditures are constantly increasing, it is important to determine the shares paid by the rural

and urban groups and the relation of these contributions to their taxpaying ability and to the actual use these groups make of the highways. Are the contributions of farmers and residents of cities proportionate to their use of the highways and to their taxpaying ability?

Highway expenditures now total 1.9 billion dollars annually, three-fourths of which is secured from tax sources. In 1927, highway expenditures were divided almost equally among states, local rural governments, and cities; but since 1927, the states have been assuming a larger proportion of the total burden. Federal aid amounts to less than five per cent of the total. Excluding proceeds from bond issues, general tax funds furnish 41 per cent, and motor registration fees and fuel taxes supply approximately 25 per cent each. General tax funds furnish 75 per cent of local highway tax revenue but only 10 per cent for the state. On the other hand 80 per cent of the state highway revenue comes from taxes on highway users.<sup>27</sup>

Rural and urban groups benefit from improved highways both as producers and consumers. As a producer, the farmer benefits by having his market more accessible, by saving time, fuel, wear and depreciation of vehicles. The urban producer benefits to the extent that he either uses rural roads or is dependent upon the rural market area. Under certain conditions, also, an improved highway increases the economic rent and therefore, the value of farm land, and increases the site value of land in the city to which the highway brings increased trade.

Improved highways may also decrease land values. The highway may bring the produce of more distant lands into competition for the local market. Land

<sup>25</sup> *Library Extension*, American Library Association, 1926, pp. 30-32.

<sup>26</sup> *Rural Libraries*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Farmers' Bul. No. 1559, p. 16.

<sup>27</sup> *Yearbook*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1931, pp. 1057-1061, 1932, pp. 937-941.



values in many villages have also suffered because highways have been built to larger trading centers. Farmers also suffer from dust, theivery, and danger to live stock caused by heavy traffic passing the farm.

The consumer's benefit from improved highways can be measured by actual use made of the highways. This necessitates measuring the proportions of rural and urban use of the highways. Road use can be measured in terms of rural and urban ownership of vehicles on the highways. Traffic counts determine the ownership of such vehicles but only roughly indicate the amount of use. At present, rural and urban use of highways in terms of ton miles and passenger miles has not been determined.

In measuring the benefits and burdens of highways, the problem of shifting taxes must be considered. In some cases the individual who contributes directly to the highway fund through property taxes or gasoline taxes may be able to shift the burden to others. Similarly, the actual user of the highway may not receive all or even part of the benefit, and such benefit may be received by others who are not the direct users of the highways. Furthermore, the benefits resulting may affect society as a whole rather than specific individuals or groups as such.

Formerly, highways were chiefly of local significance. The proportion of long-distance travel was very small. The basis of support was also local. Today, most of the traffic on roads originates outside of the communities in which they are situated although the bases of support are still largely local. Benefits of highway have widened much more rapidly than have the bases of support.

Individual state studies indicate that the farmer contributes to highway support much more than if such support were in proportion to population, financial

ability, or motor vehicle ownership. Table I compiled from a recent University of Wisconsin bulletin on *Who Pays for the Highways* by B. H. Hibbard and Carl F. Wehrwein, shows that farmers contributed more than half of the support for all roads in 20 Wisconsin counties, in 1930, farmer use of such highways accounted for but 42.7 per cent while city and village use accounted for 57.3 per cent. In the same state farmers owned but 42.5 per cent of the motor vehicles while city and village residents owned 57.5 per cent.

TABLE I

COMPARISON OF PROPORTIONATE CONTRIBUTIONS TO EACH TYPE OF ROAD BY THE FARMERS AND BY RESIDENTS OF CITIES AND VILLAGES OF WISCONSIN WITH THE PROPORTIONATE USE OF THEM, 1930

TYPE OF ROAD	FARMER-OWNED VEHICLES		CITY AND VILLAGE OWNED VEHICLES	
	Use	Contribution	Use	Contribution
	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent
State.....	36.0	41.9	64.0	58.1
County.....	52.4	45.9	47.6	54.1
Town.....	64.9	81.8	35.1	18.2
All roads.....	42.7	54.0	57.3	46.0

The same study shows the contributions of the farmers represent a tax rate of 10.1 mills on their general property while those of urban residents represent a rate of only 3.6 mills on their general property. Residents of cities and villages paid almost two-thirds of the taxes on motor vehicles and fuel, but these sources together with the income tax represent but 38 per cent of highway revenue. General property contributes 45.3 per cent.

Traffic surveys in other states show similar results. In New York, the travel from cities and villages on all types of roads amounted to five times the farm travel. On state highways, the city travel was 6

times greater than farm travel and on county and town roads 3 times greater.<sup>28</sup> Traffic surveys on the state highway systems in terms of passenger car miles reveal that in New Hampshire 93.9 per cent of the use of trunk lines was by city owned vehicles and 6.1 per cent by farm owned vehicles.<sup>29</sup> Corresponding data for other states show Vermont having 89.9 per cent urban use and 10.1 farm, Ohio 87.6 per cent urban and 12.4 per cent farm, and Pennsylvania 92.9 per cent urban and 7.1 per cent farm. Surveys of motor truck tonnage in these states show similar contrasts. In Michigan, city owned cars produce nearly 70 per cent of the traffic on all rural highways and nearly 75 per cent of this travel is upon the trunk lines.<sup>30</sup> On the federal aid highway systems of eleven Western States, 18.7 per cent of the passenger cars were farm owned, 20.4 per cent village, and 60.9 per cent city owned.<sup>31</sup> In these same states 21 per cent of the population is farm and 57 per cent city. The farm owned vehicles, however, traveled

an average of only 99 miles daily, the village 129, and the city vehicles 169 miles per day.

There is evidently a far greater use of rural highways by city residents than by farmers. At the same time the country is evidently contributing more than its fair share to highway support whether this share be measured in terms of population, tax-paying ability, or in actual use of highways.

Highway benefits may also be indicated by the relationship between the type of road and living conditions. In the New York *Survey* mentioned above, it was found that the percentage of adults living on farms and working elsewhere was twice as great for farms on hard-surfaced roads as for those on dirt roads. The farms on hard-surfaced roads also supported a greater number of workers than farms on dirt roads. Fewer habitable vacant houses were found on hard-surfaced roads, more farms had mail routes, and service was more regular. More automobiles were owned and used by farmers on hard-surfaced roads than by those on dirt roads. The many advantages of improved highways are reflected in the increased value of farm lands which they reach.

The conclusion can fairly be drawn from the preceding facts that the farm population contributes a much larger proportion of its wealth and income to the support of public functions than urban peoples, but receives fewer benefits whether measured in terms of burdens borne or need of such benefits.

<sup>28</sup> *The Relationships Between Roads and Agriculture in New York*, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Bul. 479, 1929.

<sup>29</sup> *Report of Survey of Transportation on the State Highway System of New Hampshire*, U. S. Bureau of Public Roads, 1927, pp. 47-49. Corresponding reports for the other states: Vermont, 1927, pp. 48-49; Ohio, 1927, pp. 52-53; Pennsylvania, 1928, p. 77.

<sup>30</sup> Data from *Public Roads*, U. S. Bureau of Public Roads, February 1933, p. 190.

<sup>31</sup> *Report of A Survey of the Federal-Aid Highway System of Eleven Western States*, U. S. Bureau of Public Roads, 1930, p. 36. The eleven states included are: Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Nebraska, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming.

## SOCIAL INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### CONTINENTAL EUROPEAN DISMISSAL WAGE PLANS

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THE voluntary payment of dismissal wages, a recent practice in industrial relations that has assumed the nature of an extensive movement during the last five years, is not confined to the United States. Indeed, provisions for compensating workers for the loss of employment are in force, either in voluntary or in compulsory form, in nearly half a hundred countries scattered throughout North and South America, Europe, and the Orient. Where such compensation is mandatory, laws impose upon employers the obligation of giving their employees from one week's to several years' advance notice of the termination of the employment relation or, in case of abrupt discharge, to pay them regular earnings for the notice period.<sup>1</sup>

Nor is this enlightened labor policy as new as the recent adoptions of American dismissal wage plans would lead us to believe. On the contrary, the practice of compensating workers for the loss of employment appears to be of great antiquity. Thus in Japan, where the payment of dismissal compensation is a well-nigh general practice throughout industry, the policy has its roots deep in feudalistic paternalism. In Great Britain, where the practice arose fully a century ago out of the master and servant relation, it has

been a long-standing custom, sanctioned and enforced by common law, for masters and employers to give their servants and employees advance notice of dismissal, length of notice depending upon the occupation of the worker, or to pay wages in lieu of notice. Similarly in many other countries, the custom of paying an indemnity for abrupt discharge has come to be regarded as the worker's right, and the payment of such indemnity has been made obligatory in a large number of nations by the enactment of a vast amount of specific legislation.

Numerous articles have been published describing the voluntary dismissal wage plans of American, British, and Japanese companies.<sup>2</sup> Relatively little is known of the use of such schemes in continental European enterprises. These are, however, of significance in the history of this labor relations policy and they are therefore set forth in this study.

<sup>2</sup> See Industrial Relations Section of Princeton University, *Dismissal Compensation*; Everett D. Hawkins, "Dismissal Wages: Another Step Toward Industrial Security," *Industrial Relations*, May, 1931; Mary B. Gilson and E. J. Riches, "Employers' Additional Unemployment Benefit Schemes in Great Britain," *International Labour Review*, March, 1930; and G. T. Schwenning, "Discharge Indemnity for Japanese Workers," *American Federationist*, October, 1932.

<sup>1</sup> See, G. T. Schwenning, "Dismissal Legislation," *American Economic Review*, June, 1932.

## GERMANY

*Carl Zeiss Works, Jena.*<sup>3</sup> Probably the oldest and most noteworthy continental European company dismissal compensation scheme is that of the Zeiss Works, the world's largest manufacturers of quality optical instruments. Established in 1846, the firm has expanded until it maintains branches in several countries in which it has employed more than 10,000 people.

Advance notice of dismissal and discharge indemnity constitute an integral part of the company's famous industrial relations program that has been in successful operation for nearly forty years. The company's far-sighted provisions in behalf of its personnel, provisions that appear to embrace all features of modern personnel practice, are an outgrowth of the social creed of Ernst Abbe who was for some years owner of the enterprise. This social creed was made a reality in 1896 when Abbe converted the business into a foundation in honor of its founder on the fiftieth anniversary of its establishment.

The principle of compensation for dismissal was written into and constitutes a large portion of a remarkable "Statute," or deed of incorporation, by which the foundation was created. Under this principle the engagement of a Zeiss worker is terminable only by advance notice and upon the payment of compensation depending upon the worker's length of service, wage-earners being entitled to

two weeks' notice and salaried employees to six weeks' notice of dismissal. At first compensation for dismissal was paid only to employees who had been in the firm's service for a minimum of three years, but in 1903 claim to such indemnity was extended to all workers with a minimum service record of six months.

Considering that the Zeiss scheme was inaugurated nearly forty years ago, it provides unusually liberal indemnities. Workers dismissed after serving the firm from six months to three years are paid full salary for one-sixth of the time they were in the firm's employ. Thus a worker discharged for lack of work after having been employed for a year and six months receives his full salary for an additional period of three months. After a service period extending from three to five years, dismissal entitles the former employee to full salary for a period of six months. After five years of service all employees of the Zeiss Works are eligible for pension. If circumstances within the plant necessitate the dismissal of employees with a five year service record, dismissal compensation is materially increased to compensate for the loss of their claim to a pension. The claim to dismissal notice and discharge indemnity extends to all employees of the Zeiss Works, including those employed in its branch factories and distributive centers in countries outside of Germany.

Payments for discharge are made in installments at regular pay days, though the firm reserves the right to award compensation in a lump sum. Millions of marks have been paid under this policy. Over 2,000,000 marks were distributed in dismissal compensation at the close of the World War and 633,000 marks at the end of the inflation period. During the five-year period from 1924 to 1929 dismissal indemnities amounting to 333,000 marks

<sup>3</sup> See *Statute of the Carl Zeiss Stiftung in Jena* (Revision of 1906); Dr. Fr. Schomerus, *System of Employment at the Carl Zeiss Works at Jena* (1910); Frederick Schomerus, "Industrial Coöperation in the Carl Zeiss Works," *Industrial Psychology Monthly*, February, 1928; Dr. Fr. Schomerus, "Die Soziale Betriebspolitik der Jenaer Zeisswerke mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Carl-Zeiss-Stiftung zu Jena," *Stockholm*, 1930, Heft 3; T. G. Spates, "Industrial Relations in the Zeiss Works," *International Labour Review*, August, 1930; *Studies on Industrial Relations*, II, pp. 1-21 (International Labour Office, Geneva, 1932).



were awarded to some 500 employees who were discharged in consequence of the installation of labor-saving machinery alone. Table I indicates what sums have been paid annually for several years before and after the World War as recompense for the loss of employment.

Of unusual interest is the fact that Zeiss employees have a legal claim upon indemnity for the loss of position. The Carl Zeiss plan thus has the distinction of being the only one in existence in which an individual company voluntarily binds itself

unusually high figure, for his day, in the hope and expectation that the cost involved would inhibit management from dismissing workers. According to current reports from the firm, this objective appears to have been attained. Dismissals are being kept down to an absolute minimum, a high degree of labor stability prevails, and the rate of labor turnover is low.

It is to be noted, finally, that the provisions of the scheme are far in excess of legal requirements. Indeed, the scheme is so liberal that the company is looked upon as having model provisions for the economic security of its employees and has, therefore, been specifically exempted from the operation of the German law dealing with the problem.

TABLE I

SUMS PAID IN DISMISSAL WAGES BY THE ZEISS WORKS,  
1902-1909 AND 1923-1930

FISCAL YEARS	SUMS IN MARKS
1902-1903	28,675
1903-1904	6,690
1904-1905	3,960
1905-1906	13,090
1906-1907	13,900
1907-1908	2,150
1908-1909	5,980
.....	.....
1923-1924	634,000
1924-1925	29,835
1925-1926	46,580
1926-1927	199,350
1927-1928	24,165
1928-1929	33,235
1929-1930	29,900

legally to pay dismissal wages. The plan is noteworthy also in being probably the first to provide some measure of protection against the hazard of technological unemployment. In devising the plan, Abbe recognized the injustice of displacing workers by the use of labor-saving machinery and modern production processes without compensation. The cost of labor displacement, he felt, should not fall entirely upon the worker but should be looked upon as a just cost of industry.

Abbe set the scale of compensation at an

#### FRANCE

*A Large Company, Paris.*<sup>4</sup> This large company was formed in 1927 when two companies dealing in the same line of products were merged. The fusion of interests necessitated a complete reorganization which resulted in the discontinuance of some old departments and the establishment of new ones. Reorganization was made the occasion for the introduction of labor-saving devices for office use.

By the end of 1928 the company found that it had on its payroll, in consequence of these developments, a surplus of staff employees. After transferring some of these excess employees from over-staffed to new and under-staffed departments, 27 employees were dismissed for whom places could not be found within the organization.

Legally, the company could have dismissed these supernumerary people by giving them the customary notice or allowance of from one week to one month, depending upon the official categories of

<sup>4</sup> The firm prefers not to be identified.

the employees concerned.<sup>5</sup> According to the company's statement, this procedure would have worked no particular hardship upon those let out as the demand for all kinds of labor at the time exceeded the supply. A considerable number of those dismissed did in fact find other situations at once. The management, however, went beyond legal and customary requirements and handled the matter in a more generous manner.

Those to be dismissed were divided into two groups according to length of service. The first to go were those with less than 5 years' service, and 17 people were involved with service ranging from 3 months to 4 years and 9 months, the average being 2 years and 6 months. Those people all

## RUSSIA

In Tsarist Russia employers were required by law to give their workingmen notice of dismissal two weeks in advance or to pay two weeks wages in place of notice under the industrial Code of June 3-15, 1886.<sup>6</sup> With the overthrow of the old régime in Russia, efforts were made to extend the law so as to give the workers a right to a month's notice or a month's wages. Under the Soviets, extensive legislation has been enacted to regulate this phase of labor relations.<sup>7</sup>

Pending such legislation in the Soviet Union, the principle of discharge indemnity was established in industry through collective bargaining. During his visit

TABLE II

EMPLOYEE	SERVICE	CUSTOMARY NOTICE	INDEMNITY GIVEN
Accountant.....	1 yr. 6 mos.	1 month	2 months' pay
Stock Clerk.....	2 yrs. 5 mos.	1 month	2 months' pay
Typist (female).....	3 yrs. 6 mos.	1 week	2 months' pay

received two months' salary as indemnity for the loss of their positions. In Table II are given a few examples of how the provision affected the employees.

A second group let out comprised those employees with 5 years' service or more, and 10 people were involved with service from 5 years and 4 months to 9 years and 7 months. The average service period for the group was 7 years and 3 months. In their case, a dismissal allowance of three months' salary was given, although six of these employees could have been dismissed on one week's notice or the payment of a week's salary.

<sup>5</sup> The complete French Labor Code is given in *Lois, Décrets, Arrêtés Concernant la Réglementation du Travail*, p. 22 (Documents Réunis par le Ministère du Travail et de la Prévoyance Sociale, Paris, 1930).

to Russia in 1917, Professor Ross found that joint agreements embodied this principle in a number of industries. He reports: "In the typographical industry masters and men agreed to a three months' minimum term of employment. When I was in Baku, in October, 1917, the hundred-odd oil firms were concluding an agreement with their 70,000 employees which stipulated, among other things, that on dismissal an employee should receive a month's pay for every year he had been in the service of the firm. The employers made no protest on this point for it simply made general a practice which

<sup>6</sup> Jean Deprez, *Le Délai-Congé en Législation Comparée*, p. 78.

<sup>7</sup> International Labour Office, *Legislative Series*, 1922—Russia 1.

long had been followed by the best oil companies.

"In some cases the demands went very far. A large American manufacturing concern near Moscow was asked by its men to pay three months' dismissal wages for every year of service. On the break-up of the office force of a certain American life insurance company with headquarters in Petrograd the men put in a claim for six months' pay all around."<sup>8</sup>

#### THE NETHERLANDS<sup>9</sup>

Under a law enacted in 1907, indefinite term labor contracts can be terminated in the Netherlands only by giving advance notice equal to the period between two pay days.<sup>10</sup> This means that the majority of wage earners can be dismissed on a week's notice or by paying them a week's wages.

The present survey of Dutch dismissal wage schemes is concerned with voluntary company provisions that go beyond the requirements of the law. The first scheme appears to have been introduced as recently as 1929. But the practice had spread to 10 manufacturing firms by the close of 1932, in spite of certain difficulties interposed by the government. To understand the significance of the progress made in establishing this modern labor policy in Holland, in the face of real obstacles, it is necessary to refer briefly to the unemployment insurance system and the work of the

labor unions in the Netherlands, and to the European rationalization movement.

Holland has in force a modified form of the Ghent system of unemployment insurance, which is a voluntary and semi-public scheme. It was established by royal decree in January, 1917, and is based on the principle of subsidizing from public funds the out-of-work benefit schemes provided by the trade unions through contributions from their membership. An individual trade union joins the scheme voluntarily, but once having joined, participation is compulsory on all its members. The scale of contributions and benefits is fixed by each separate union. The union draws a subsidy amounting normally to 100 per cent of its insurance fund, half from the state and half from the municipality.

While the trade unions disburse unemployment benefits out of funds provided jointly under the above scheme, they are not wholly free in administering the funds. The Ministry of Industry, Trade and Labor prescribes certain regulations to funds that receive the subsidy. Under the regulations the unions are prohibited from paying unemployment benefits amounting to more than 70 per cent of the average wages of the worker. Where the municipality has not entered the scheme and makes no subsidy, and the union is dependent wholly on state subsidy, the unemployment benefits payable are further reduced to 50 per cent of the worker's average wages. In the case of funds subsidized entirely by the state, however, the Ministry's subsidy can be raised above the 50 per cent of the insurance fund where unusual circumstances require such action. But the unions are required to levy contributions from their members at rates that provide ample funds to cover benefits and still leave a reserve for emergencies. Where municipalities join the unemploy-

<sup>8</sup> E. A. Ross, "A Legal Dismissal Wage," *Monthly Labor Review*, March, 1919, p. 15.

<sup>9</sup> This story of the dismissal wage movement in the Netherlands is based on F. Brussel, "La concentration industrielle et l'indemnisation des travailleurs congédiés," in *L'Internationale Syndicale Chrétienne*, 7 ième Année, No. 4, 1929, pp. 50-55; and on an unpublished report in German by Mr. Brussel which was prepared in response to the writer's inquiry and generously transmitted by the Headquarters of the International Federation of the Christian Trade Unions, Utrecht, Netherlands.

<sup>10</sup> Deprez, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-76, 280-281, 458-459.

ment system, they exercise constant supervision over the unemployment benefit funds of the local unions. Other governmental restrictions limit the drawing of out-of-work benefits to workers between the ages of 15 and 60 who have contributed to the fund for a minimum period of six months. The membership of the trade unions that participate in the insurance system numbers nearly 500,000 and is said to constitute approximately one-third of the country's industrial workers.

With the adoption of dismissal compensation plans, the government imposed further limitations upon the payment of unemployment benefits in the case of workers who are awarded dismissal compensation. The government regulation requires that workers who are indemnified by their employers for the loss of employment must wait longer periods, depending upon the amount of the indemnity, before they are entitled to draw unemployment benefits. For example, if a dismissed worker was awarded dismissal compensation amounting in the aggregate to 1,000 florins and if his average earnings prior to dismissal amounted to 25 florins per week, he must wait 40 weeks before he has any claim upon the unemployment fund. In imposing this restriction, the government apparently reasons that the worker is receiving regular wages for 40 weeks, though he has lost his job, and is therefore not entitled to support from the insurance fund until the expiration of the 40 weeks. In other words, the government substitutes dismissal wages for unemployment benefits.

The ruling means in practice that the sums made available by employers for the compensation of workers who have lost their jobs ultimately revert to the state and reduce the subsidies paid into the unemployment benefit fund by the state and the municipalities. Employers feel that their efforts to deal generously with

workers they can no longer keep on the payroll have been frustrated, and they are consequently turning a deaf ear to the trade unions' appeals for the adoption of dismissal wage plans. The union's attempts to spread the dismissal wage movement in Holland are, therefore, meeting with genuine obstacles.

In an effort to circumvent this government regulation, the trade unions have suggested that employers change their methods of paying dismissal allowances. They now seek to establish arrangements with firms that provide discharge indemnities by which the firms pay such indemnities into the union treasury in smaller weekly installments to permit dismissed workers to draw for a longer period a sum in dismissal wages and unemployment benefits totalling not more than 70 per cent of their former weekly earnings. Thus, if the dismissed worker's regular weekly wage was 30 florins, he is paid each week 14 florins out of the unemployment insurance fund and 7 florins out of the dismissal wage installments provided by his former employer, the total being 21 florins or 70 per cent of his earnings before discharge. Such an arrangement is distinctly beneficial to the union, since any union funds augmented by dismissal compensation are matched by state subsidy, while the discharged employee would likewise benefit by receiving out-of-work benefits for a longer period.

The period for which workers may receive unemployment benefits is determined by each trade union and so varies with the financial strength and policies of the individual union. In the case of the Catholic trade unions the period is but 10 weeks. If a worker is still without employment at the expiration of the period during which he draws unemployment benefits, he receives emergency relief from the state or is assigned duty on public



works projects. In this case, the government stipulates further that if such worker is still entitled to periodic dismissal allowances he may be paid such allowances in amounts not to exceed 15 per cent of his income from the government. If, then, an unemployed worker receives a weekly income from the government of 10 florins, he may be paid in dismissal wages only 15 per cent of that sum, or 1.50 florins, irrespective of any more generous provisions made by the former employer. Under the government ruling, the worker must either remain with the employer or must be supported by the trade union if he is to be paid more liberal amounts in the form of discharge allowances. The government's interference in this matter is, of course, a real obstacle in the way of the dismissal wage movement in the country. It inhibits the union's efforts to promote the adoption of dismissal wage schemes and destroys the employers' incentive to establish such plans.

It is important to note the fact that the Dutch dismissal wage payment plans were adopted almost wholly at the behest of the trade unions. Since the unions assume the responsibility of providing out-of-work benefits, they have been vigorous in committing employers to the view that they have a financial responsibility toward dismissed workers and that such workers should be indemnified when their jobs are destroyed. Their efforts have met with success, as the following dismissal wage payments prove. Now that the principle of indemnity for the loss of work has been acknowledged, the labor movement seeks to stabilize it so that all dismissed workers will receive one month's pay after 5 years of service, 2 months' pay after 10 years of service, and 4 months' pay after 20 years' service. It also looks forward to state intervention in favor of the obligatory establishment of reserve funds, deducted

from profits, to be used by firms in paying dismissal wages and making other financial provisions for their employees.

The impetus back of the Dutch dismissal wage plans is to be found in the European rationalization movement. Concentration is taking place on a large scale in numerous branches of industry, resulting in the shutting down of many factories and the destruction of jobs for hundreds and thousands of workers. The development of international trusts and cartels, with particular reference to the margarine industry, has apparently proceeded at an unusually rapid rate in recent years. It also appears that workers were dismissed whenever a plant was closed down without the slightest consideration from management. The labor movement, therefore, set itself the task of securing dismissal wages for them in order to mitigate as much as possible the hardships caused by the loss of employment through industrial concentration. The attack was made on the margarine industry, which has felt the full impact of the rationalization movement in the Netherlands, resulting in the accomplishments cited in the dismissal allowance schemes that follow.

*Jurgens Company, Oss.* One of the leaders in the margarine industry abroad is the Jurgens Company of Holland, which, during the last few years, has discontinued operations in several of its numerous plants. When the firm closed down its main factories at Oss in 1929, the company's entire working force of 800 people was suddenly thrown out of employment. When this management decision became known, the trade union intervened in behalf of the displaced workers and asked that management indemnify the workers for the loss suffered by the elimination of their jobs. The union succeeded in making its case and in persuading the firm to provide compensation, which took the

form of pensions for older workers and lump sum dismissal gratuities for those workers who were not pensioned but who had served the company at least five years.

Pensions were provided for employees who had reached the age of 45 years or more and who had a minimum service record of 20 years. Depending upon age and length of service, the annual amounts payable under the annuity scheme range from 351 to 650 florins. Payments are made weekly and amount to from 6.75 to 12.50 florins a week. In the case of a few workers, pensions were provided to yield from 15 to 20 florins per week. Approximately 100 older employees of long service were pensioned.

Workers under 45 years of age were not included in this pension scheme. To those long-service workers who did not come under this regulation, the company paid a lump sum gratuity, according to the circumstances of the individual, varying in amount from one month's salary to a year's salary, and even more in a very few cases.

While it recognized the value of the firm's pecuniary provisions in behalf of its former employees, the trade union was not wholly satisfied because the regulation did not take into account a considerable number of workers who, under the circumstances, were to be let out without receiving any compensation. The union contended that all employees who had rendered satisfactory service for a number of years in the factories at Oss were in equity entitled to some indemnity for the loss of their jobs. Organized labor had the moral support of the government in these negotiations which resulted in the company's subsequently paying dismissal wages to all workers who had been on its payroll for a period of five years or more and who had not been provided for in the first regulation. The dismissal wage ranged in

amount from 44 to 2,070 florins and was paid out of a fund of 200,000 florins set aside by the firm for the purpose.

*Philips Works, Eindhoven.*<sup>11</sup> Established as a small lamp factory in 1891, the Philips Works has become a large organization producing electrical apparatus. Branch factories are owned and operated in Belgium, Italy, and Poland; a controlling interest in certain undertakings in other countries is maintained; and sales offices have been established in twenty-seven European countries and in twelve countries outside of Europe. The total working force in the several Philips enterprises numbered nearly 35,000 persons in October of 1930. The staff at Eindhoven, to which this survey applies, increased rapidly from 6,725 in 1920 to 22,487 in 1929.

Unusually rapid expansion of the business at Eindhoven took place during and following the World War. The company encountered considerable difficulty in recruiting a sufficient working force to carry on operations. This scarcity of labor supply had the inevitable effect of developing a tendency to mechanize production processes. At the same time it stimulated the management to develop progressive labor policies and to establish extensive personnel activities with a view to holding the workers it had recruited and brought to Eindhoven at considerable expense. In its desire to reduce the cost of replacements, every effort was made by the firm to avoid dismissals.

Philips depends on foreign markets for the sale of 95 per cent of its products. When, therefore, the market declined sharply as a result of the general depression, the undertaking was seriously affected. For the first time in its history the company found itself in the unusual posi-

<sup>11</sup> See *Studies on Industrial Relations*, II, pp. 75-142 (International Labour Office, Geneva, 1932).

tion in 1930 of having an excess of workers. Demobilization of its forces became unavoidable, and 3,000 people were dismissed for lack of work between January and April of 1930, and an additional 600 by the close of the year.

In effecting the dismissals, the company went beyond its general practice of giving two weeks' notice and resorted to various devices in the hope of preventing distress among the workers let out. It first laid off those workers who, in the company's judgment, would suffer least by the loss of employment. To prevent further discharges, hours of work were reduced to 42 per week and later to 40 hours per week. All workers dismissed were given two week's notice. Finally, a scheme for paying dismissal allowances was adopted in March, 1930.

The indemnity paid under the plan amounted to from one week's wages for workers who had been in the firm's service for at least one year to a maximum of 13 weeks' wages for employees with a service record of 12 years or more. The allowance was paid in weekly installments of half the weekly wage. Thus a worker who was entitled to 13 weeks' wages for dismissal drew half his regular weekly wage for a period of 26 weeks. Workers received this compensation for discharge even if they were successful in obtaining other employment immediately. Even workers insured against unemployment received dismissal compensation when let out, but payments to this class of employees was spread over a longer period.

*Roes Company, Delft.* This tanning and leather dressing firm found it necessary to lay off permanently a considerable number of workers on account of business recession. In consideration of the fact that many of the dismissed workers had rendered the company long periods of service, the trade

union prevailed upon the management to grant dismissal allowances. Dismissal compensation was paid amounting to 30 florins for each year of service.

*Algemeene Kunstzijde Unie, Arnhem.* Several years ago this artificial silk manufacturing company was forced through adverse market conditions to discharge a large number of its workers. Vigorous efforts on the part of the trade union were responsible for the firm's adoption of a dismissal wage plan, which has been used several times since it was established. Workers are paid half their weekly wages for periods ranging from 2 to 6 weeks, depending upon the year in which they were engaged.

*de Nieuwe Margarine Factories, Rijswijk.* This is another case of the adoption of a dismissal wage scheme by a Dutch margarine works. The scheme was established in 1931 and provides for dismissal allowances based on length of service and the earnings of the employee. Compensation paid ranged from 36 to 168 florins.

*Hartog Works, Oss.* The Hartog firm is affiliated with Unilever Limited, leading British member of the powerful European margarine cartel. After the decline in the value of the pound sterling, operations were transferred to countries in which production could be carried on more cheaply than in Holland, and the firm faced the prospect of being discontinued. In consequence of this development, some 600 workers were discharged early in 1932.

Again the trade union petitioned the management to indemnify these workers for the loss of their jobs and livelihood. The management responded to the union's intercession by providing the most generous dismissal compensation yet paid by any Dutch company. In drafting the scheme, three factors were taken into consideration—the worker's earnings, his

service period, and the number of his dependent children. Payments made amounted to from 3 weeks' wages for each year of service to persons without children to  $5\frac{1}{2}$  weeks' wages for each year of service to persons with 10 children under 14 years of age. Girls and young workers who were not earning full wages at the time of discharge received only one week's dismissal allowance.

*Stijfselabriek "De Bijenkorf," Koog a/d Zaan.* A dismissal compensation plan was put into effect by this corporation (starch products) in August of 1932 which provides for the payment of 50 florins for each year of service to married workers and to those supporting families, and 15 florins for each year of service to unmarried workers without family responsibilities. In the case of employees who had 2 years and 4 months of service to their credit, compensation was calculated and awarded on the basis of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  years' service. The maximum service period of the people dismissed amounted to 22 years, though in most cases it ranged between 2 and 3 years. The trade union feels that in the case of this firm the discharge allowances paid were substantial.

*Cohen en v/d Laan, Haarlem.* Due to the intervention of the trade union, this margarine enterprise, too, adopted a scheme for paying dismissal wages. Compensation was again based on length of service and the worker's earnings. Amounts actually paid in allowances ranged from 250 to over 550 florins. An interesting feature of the scheme is the provision that the discharged workers retain their claims to company pensions. Since the firm employs large numbers of workers, considerable sums of money are required to meet the obligations assumed by the company in establishing the scheme.

*Other Dutch Firms.* Similar dismissal wage plans were adopted by Van den Berg,

a margarine works located at Rotterdam, and by Calvé, oil works at Delft. Both of these companies are members of the margarine cartel.

The foregoing survey of continental European dismissal wage plans discloses the fact that they have been utilized as a permanent labor policy or as temporary relief measures in four countries, namely, France, Germany, Netherlands, and Russia. The branches of industry making use of this practice in labor relations include, among others, the following: typographical, oil, starch, optical instruments, electrical equipment, leather tanning, rayon, and margarine. It appears that upwards of 100,000 workers have been affected by the principle of indemnity for dismissal in these four countries.

Except for the relatively rapid spread of dismissal wage schemes in Holland, where something comparable to a dismissal wage movement is discernible, continental European firms have made no extensive use of such plans. This situation is probably explained by the fact that workers in these countries, as in most European countries, are by custom and by law entitled to advance notice of dismissal or compensation in place of notice, and so are afforded a measure of protection against abrupt and arbitrary discharge. Existing dismissal wage payment schemes are noteworthy, therefore, since for workers who must be laid off permanently they make pecuniary provisions beyond the requirements of usage or custom and law.

To the extent that these schemes are extra-legal, they may be classified as voluntary schemes. Yet the Dutch and Russian plans must be distinguished from purely voluntary types that have been established wholly on the initiative of the management, for they were used only as a result of collective bargaining and at the instance of the trade unions. The scheme



of the Zeiss Works and of the one French firm cited are conspicuous in having been adopted entirely without intervention or coercion from an outside agency.

The Russian schemes, while they affected the greatest number of workers, are of interest only historically. They have long since been discarded and displaced by extensive legislation that regulates labor contracts in general and the dismissal of workers in particular. Furthermore, Soviet Russia has suffered from a scarcity rather than from a super-abundance of labor, and the loss of the job has, consequently, not yet appeared as a labor problem.

In France the custom of giving workers advance notice of dismissal or wages for the notice period according to the official occupational classification of the worker, a custom that is supported by law and enforced by specially created tribunals ("Conseil des Prud'hommes"), provides French laborers and employees with considerable protection against abrupt and unjust discharge.<sup>12</sup> To what extent other firms in France go beyond customary and legal requirements when they reduce their working forces is not known.

Holland presents a rare case of governmental interference in the voluntary adoption of dismissal wage schemes. The Dutch government evidently sees in the dismissal wage movement a convenient means of reducing the State's share of the financial burden of providing unemployment benefits, and so it has acted on the assumption that dismissal gratuities should be regarded as out-of-work benefits. It is safe to conclude that so long as this

governmental regulation prevails there is little likelihood that an extensive dismissal wage movement will develop in Holland.

There is little, if any, comparability between these several plans, except that their adoption represents an implied recognition of the principle that workers have a right to their jobs and that they are in equity entitled to indemnity for their loss. There is no uniform method of calculating the indemnity payable, though in a general way all schemes take into account the worker's service period and earnings. The periodic method of making payments is most commonly used. In the case of one firm the dismissal wage for the older long-service employees took the form of a pension, the pension being paid in weekly installments.

If we exclude the Russian schemes that were established through collective bargaining and that are no longer in existence, we find from this survey that the dismissal wage plans are, with one exception, temporary emergency measures. Business recession or the closing of plants in consequence of rationalization necessitated the reduction of staffs, and the firms adopted the indemnity principle as a means of relieving the workers' temporary hardships caused by the loss of employment.

The one noteworthy exception to the rule is the Zeiss Works. In this firm the dismissal wage scheme was adopted many years ago as a permanent phase of a thoroughgoing and progressive personnel program. This oldest formal scheme on record is no longer an experiment, but an integral part of a company labor policy of long standing, a policy that was based on sound economic and social considerations. Its truly voluntary nature, its enforceability at law, its short qualifying period, its generous compensation, its provisions against technological unemployment—

<sup>12</sup> See Gaston Préau and Pierre Riffard, *Les Délais de Préavis en Matière de Congédiement d'Employés et d'Ouvriers*. 4th edition. Paris, n. d. For a discussion of the subject in English, see Roger Picard, "French Legislation on the Dismissal of Workers," in *International Labour Review*, January, 1931.

these are some of the characteristics of the Zeiss scheme that give it a place of major importance in the history of the dismissal wage movement.

Finally, the schemes described are found in countries that have enacted legislation providing for dismissal notice and that have in force various social insurance provisions designed to take care of people who

are without jobs or incomes. Dismissal wage plans are, thus, additional means for dealing with the workers' hazards of economic insecurity arising out of employment irregularity and uncertainty. The increasing adoption of such plans in industrial nations is evidence that they are being looked upon as a valuable new development in social insurance.

#### AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The twenty-eighth meeting of the American Sociological Society will be held in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, December 27-30, 1933, with headquarters at the Hotel Adelphia. One or more sessions will be devoted to biological sociology, rural sociology, the teaching of sociology, the community, the sociology of religion, social statistics, human ecology, social research, educational sociology, sociology and psychiatry, the family, social psychology, sociology and social work, social institutions.

On Wednesday night, December 27, in a joint meeting, with the American Economic Association and the American Political Science Association, the presidential addresses will be delivered. A. P. Usher of Harvard University will speak on "A Liberal Theory of Constructive Statecraft;" Isodor Loeb, Washington University, on "Fact and Fiction in Government;" and E. B. Reuter, University of Iowa, has chosen as his subject, "Race Contacts and the Historical Process."

Meeting also in Philadelphia at the same time are the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, the American Statistical Association, the American Association of Labor Legislation, the American Farm Economic Association, and other allied groups.



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Special Book Reviews by L. L. BERNARD, ERNEST R. GROVES, FRANK H. HANKINS, CLARK WISSLER,  
RUPERT B. VANCE, FLOYD N. HOUSE, MALCOLM WILLEY, AND OTHERS

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## THE EUROPEAN VIEWPOINT IN SOCIOLOGY

L. L. AND J. S. BERNARD

*Washington University*

PRÉCIS D'UN SYSTÈME DE SOCIOLOGIE. By E. Chalupný. Paris: Marcel Riviere, 1930. 138 pp.  
 EINLEITUNG IN DIE SOZIOLOGIE. By Hans Freyer. Leipzig: Verlag Quelle & Meyer, 1931. 149 pp. 1.80 marks.

INTRODUCCIÓN A LA SOCIOLOGÍA. By Raúl A. Orgaz. Buenos Aires: Editorial C. L. E. S., 1933. 73 pp.  
 SOZIOLOGIE VON HEUTE. Edited by Richard Thurnwald. Leipzig: C. L. Hirschfeld Verlag, 1932. vii + 138 pp.

DIE GEGENWARTSAUFGABEN DER SOZIOLOGIE. By Karl Mannheim. Tübingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1932. 64 pp.

GRÜNDER DER SOZIOLOGIE. Edited by Fritz Karl Mann. Jena: Verlag von Gustav Fischer, 1932. vii + 158 pp. 7.50 marks.

HAUPTPROBLEME DER SOZIOLOGIE. By Mark Abramowitsch. Berlin: Verlagsanstalt "Courier" G. M. B. H., 1930. 111 pp.

PROBLEME DER GESELLSCHAFT UND DES STAATES BEI MOSES HESS. By Irma Goitein. Leipzig: Verlag von C. L. Hirschfeld, 1931. iv + 181 pp. 7.90 marks.

DEUTSCHER FRÜHSOZIALISMUS. By Karl Mielcke. Stuttgart and Berlin: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger, 1931. vi + 199 pp.

EXPOSÉS PRELIMINAIRES SUR LA PRÉVISION SOCIOLOGIQUE ET L'HABITAT HUMAIN. By G. L. Duprat. Paris: Marcel Giard, 1932. 34 pp.

The first three brochures summarize in brief form their authors' ideas of the place and content of sociology. These booklets are characteristic of a form of writing and thinking in sociology that survives in Europe and the intellectual provinces of Europe in Latin America and elsewhere. It is mainly logical, somewhat apologetic, and for the most part old-fashioned. Chalupny is concerned with definition, history, relations among the social sciences, laws, statics and dynamics, environment and product, but always in the abstract. Freyer devotes most of his pages to the history of sociology and most of the remainder to social structure and institu-

tions. Orgaz, the leading Argentine sociologist, is concerned mainly with defining social objects, social causes, laws, and the relations of sociology to the other social sciences, citing the views of leading sociologists on these question. He alone of the three cites any considerable number of modern sociologists, and these are mostly German and French. In recent years the senior reviewer has seen to it that he has received several works of sociologists from the United States, and most of these are referred to here. Thurnwald's symposium consists of papers on sociological realism, sociology as a special science and as culture science, the limits and relations of sociology by such sociologists as Walther, Freyer, Plenge, Sorokin Ginsberg, Ogburn, MacIver, and Steinmetz. Tönnies reacts to these papers and presents his intellectual life history in the same volume, while Thurnwald sets forth his concept of functional sociology. Sociology, he says, must be a careful, analytical study of facts and processes and not of concepts merely, and it must be generalized to all peoples instead of to one people. Never is a mere accumulation of facts sociology; these facts must be interpreted, but not apriorily.

Mannheim is concerned with educational administration. He says the Germans have long speculated as to whether there is a science of sociology, while the French have placed courses and the Americans whole departments of sociology in their universities. Now Germany is convinced that there is sociology and will teach it (this was written before the days of Hitler) and he offers a detailed outline of what he thinks the subject should cover. Mann has assembled a group of papers about the work of nineteenth century

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sociologists—Schäffle, the Romanticists, Karl Marx, Comte, Durkheim, and Max Weber—by living sociologists—von Wiese, Mann, Freyer, Meusel, Duprat, and Marianne Weber—with the purpose of presenting a review of the development and trends of the science. He thinks that such a perspective will be of especial value in the integrating stage of academic German sociology.

Abramowitsch offers a socialist interpretation of sociology, but criticizes strongly those who do not go beyond Marx in their interpretation of society. He has much to say about the contrast between the proletarian and the bourgeois approaches to social science. Goitein seeks to show Hess' position between Hegelian idealism and Marxian historical materialism, and she finds that he did not seek a synthesis of these viewpoints but rather gyrated between them. Some new letters of Hess are given in the appendix.

Mielcke studies the early history of socialism in relation to German and French socialistic trends, emphasizing particularly the theories of Hess and Weitling.

Duprat presents a preliminary analysis and synthesis of the dual theme of the eleventh Congress of the Institut International de Sociologie to be held at Geneva October 20, 1933. He reviews the leading theories of prediction and organizes the content of the papers on the human habitat, using frequently the category of ecology.

All of these volumes and brochures represent mainly the European viewpoint, with now and then something of some significance about American sociology. But rarely is there any indication of a real understanding of what is going on here in creative sociological thinking and investigation. However, such a group of materials is invaluable as an aid to understanding European sociology.

## SOCIOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY

GEORGE P. MURDOCK

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*DIE MENSCHLICHE GESELLSCHAFT IN IHREN ETHNO-SOZIOLOGISCHEN GRUNDLAGEN.* By Richard Thurnwald. Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co. Band I: Repräsentative Lebensbilder von Naturvölkern. 1931. 275 pp. Band II: Werden, Wandel und Gestaltung von Familie, Verwandtschaft und Bündnis im Lichte der Völkerforschung. 1932. 323 pp. Band III: Werden, Wandel und Gestaltung der Wirtschaft im Lichte der Völkerforschung. 1932. 205 pp.

*ECONOMICS IN PRIMITIVE COMMUNITIES.* By Richard Thurnwald. London: Oxford University Press 1932. 298 pp.

Doctor Thurnwald, professor at the University of Berlin, editor of *Sociologus*, recently exchange professor at Yale and lecturer at Harvard, ethnographer in Melanesia, student of acculturation in

Africa, and author of numerous contributions in the field of sociology, anthropology, social psychology, and comparative law, needs no introduction to American sociologists. He has now consummated and synthesized the labors of a life of distinguished scholarship in *Die menschliche Gesellschaft*, a general treatise on sociology projected in five volumes, of which the first three are here reviewed. *Economics in Primitive Communities* is a translation, with minor modifications and additions, of the third volume of the German work.

These volumes afford a refreshing relief after the flood of deductive, philosophical, and methodological sociologies which has poured out of Germany during the last

decade or two. The author is thoroughly inductive and objective. Buttressing his every statement with impressive documentation, he errs, if at all, in his caution against making premature generalizations. His data are drawn in the main from ethnography, for he recognizes very clearly that the science of society cannot arrive at valid generalizations from the study of a single civilization alone any more than a science of biology could have been built up by limiting observations to *homo sapiens*. Studies of primitive cultures contribute to our understanding of man in modern society much as the researches of the geneticists with fruit-flies, the biochemists with dogs, and the animal psychologists with anthropoids contribute to our knowledge of the human organism.

Their common subject-matter makes it necessary to define Thurnwald's place in the welter of ethnological schools. Eliminating those with a primarily psychological approach, these schools fall into two great camps: the historical and the sociological. With the historical schools, characterized by their denial of the existence of general laws, principles, or uniformities of cultural development and by their reliance solely upon historical accident in explanation of social change, Thurnwald is not in sympathy. He ignores the naïve "heliolithic" theories of Elliot Smith and Perry, but subjects the *Kulturkreis* school of Graebner and the *Kulturhistorisch* school of Schmidt, with their theories of the worldwide diffusion of culture complexes, to a searching analysis and devastating criticism (v. I, pp. 10-19). Though somewhat more favorably inclined toward the American historical school of Boas and his followers, he criticizes Lowie and Goldenweiser for going to extremes in their complete rejection of the concept of social evolution, and shows their inconsistency when they

nevertheless speak of "primitive" society and "early" civilization. He charges the historical schools with a narrowly mechanical conception of cultural diffusion, as though it operated on the analogy of the transfer of museum specimens from one showcase to another instead of involving very intimate and complex processes of adjustment. That the extent of diffusion of a culture trait is an adequate criterion of its age is characterized as an unwarranted assumption. And, finally, the "historical" schools, despite their name, are said to arrive at their conclusions, not primarily through research methods acceptable to the historian, but through often very tenuous inferences.

It is with the sociological rather than the historical ethnologists that Thurnwald aligns himself. He insists that from the study of social phenomena among different peoples it is possible to discover general uniformities and developmental tendencies. Though thus in fundamental harmony with Spencer and the other classical evolutionists, he departs radically from their over-simplified conception of "stages" of social development. He is, perhaps, nearer the tradition of the eminent culture-historians of the last century. Indeed, on the subject of marriage, the family, and kinship there is a striking similarity in approach and treatment between the volumes under discussion and the *Kulturgeschichte* of Julius Lippert. Thurnwald, utilizing the products of an additional half century of intensive ethnographical field work, has refined the conclusions of his predecessors, not overthrown them. Among modern ethnological schools, he has been influenced most strongly by the "functionalists," notably Malinowski, and if it were necessary to assign him to a pigeonhole it would probably be here.

The work under review can be com-

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pared, in scope and content, to but one book in the English language, namely, *The Science of Society* by Sumner and Keller, with which, curiously enough, Thurnwald seems not to be acquainted. It covers essentially the same field as the latter, except that, for reasons not satisfying to the reviewer, it omits entirely the subject of religion. There are, to be sure, differences of emphasis; Sumner and Keller deal more fully with property, while Thurnwald devotes a (forthcoming) volume each to government and law. *Die menschliche Gesellschaft* advances fewer conclusions and generalizations than *The Science of Society*; to the extent of the difference it will be, to many, at the same time less suggestive and less susceptible to criticism. Where the two works deal with similar subjects, however, their conclusions are generally in substantial agreement. *Die menschliche Gesellschaft*, not to mention its deficiencies, reveals a distinct advance in method. The comparative ethnographical method as employed by Spencer, Tylor, Frazer, Westermarck, Sumner, and others has been justly criticized on the ground that it tears cases out of their cultural context, lumps together instances not really comparable, and readily lends itself to unconscious selection in favor of a thesis. Thurnwald abandons this method altogether. In its stead he devotes almost the entire first volume to the specific description of the cultures of nearly fifty distinct tribes or larger cultural units. The groups selected are geographically and otherwise truly representative, and the descriptions, though necessarily summary, are accurate and adequate, at least in all cases where the reviewer is himself more than casually acquainted with the source material. The examples cited in the succeeding volumes, and upon which the conclusions rest, are taken from these fifty cultures and are thus, in every case, readily referable to their social context.

It is impossible in the space at our disposal to do more than suggest the content of this monumental work. Social organization tends to conform to the basic economic adjustments of a society, especially the type of its food-quest. From an original division of labor between the sexes, the men specializing in hunting and the women in collecting, successive technical advances take place along both lines. The women attain to agriculture, first with the digging stick, then with the hoe. The men advance to the domestication of smaller mammals like the pig and of the larger grazing animals. Then the two economic spheres are fused by yoking draught animals to the plow. Characteristic institutions cluster around each of these fundamental types of industrial activity and their typical combinations. Thus matrilineal family and kinship forms, archaic though not necessarily everywhere original, tend to occur where woman's economic contribution is relatively important and her status high, and hence find their most extreme expression in early agricultural communities rather than in those technically less advanced. Similarly a pastoral or a predatory mode of life favors the patriarchy. The state develops from the men's association, not from the family or clan. The subjection of one group to another, producing a stratified society, has exceedingly important consequences. Amongst other effects, it leads to the disintegration of the clan and the emergence of the extended family. Magical and religious ideas may affect social forms, for no institution stands alone; all interpenetrate and influence each other. The development of property in movables contributes to the subjugation of women and to the substitution of marriage by purchase for the earlier mode of marriage by the exchange of presents. These random samples can convey but a faint suggestion of the richness of the text.

The conception of social evolution—to use this term in its only legitimate meaning of adaptive change—which emerges from the volumes under review is far from a simple one. The forms of human society are visualized as reacting to a complex of factors—geographical opportunities and restrictions, technical knowledge, religious and magical ideas, cultural contacts, the accidents of conquest and subjugation, etc. These reactions, however, are not completely random or infinitely diversified but reveal discoverable uniformities. Unlike the realm of material culture, where the possibilities of change are almost endless and where advances are cumulative, the possible forms of social organization are limited in number and

changes are not cumulative. Descent, for examples, can fluctuate only within the narrow limits of the matrilineal and patrilineal extremes. Since the significant factors as well as the possibilities of change are limited, it becomes entirely practicable to formulate social laws in this domain. (A scientific "law," some one has said, is nothing but an observed and verified uniformity of phenomena.) *Die menschliche Gesellschaft*, despite inevitable defects, deserves a place in that select but discouragingly meager list of books upon which rests the slender claim of sociology to the status of a science. It is earnestly to be hoped that translation will shortly make all the volumes readily available to English-speaking students.

### SEX FROM MANY ANGLES

ERNEST R. GROVES

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COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY INTO TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN THE EAST. Report to the Council of the League of Nations. Geneva, 1933. 556 pp. \$4.00.

CITIES OF SIN. By Hendrik de Leeuw. New York: Harrison Smith and Robert Haas, 1933. 297 pp.

PROSTITUTION AND ITS REPRESSION IN NEW YORK CITY. By Willoughby Cyrus Waterman. New York: Columbia University Press, 1932. 164 pp. \$3.00.

VICE IN CHICAGO. By Walter C. Reckless. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933. 314 pp. \$3.00.

LIFE IN THE MAKING. By Alan Frank Gutmacher. New York: The Viking Press, 1933. 297 pp. Illustrated. \$2.75.

SEX AND INTERNAL SECRETIONS. *A Survey of Recent Research*. Edited by Edgar Allen. Foreword by Robert M. Yerkes. Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Company, 1932. 951 pp. Illustrated. \$10.00.

THE TIDES OF LIFE. By R. G. Hoskins. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1933. 352 pp. \$3.50.

MAN INTO WOMAN. AN AUTHENTIC RECORD OF A CHANGE OF SEX. Edited by Niels Hoyer. Translated from the German by H. J. Steanning. Intro-

duction by Norman Haire. New York: Dutton, 1933. 288 pp. Illustrated. \$3.50.

This report to the League of Nations of the Commission of Enquiry into Traffic of Women and Children in the East, summarizes the findings of its second investigation of traffic in women and children. As was true of the first report, which dealt with the international traffic in women in Europe, the Mediterranean basin, and the Americas, this document which is concerned with conditions in the East is objective, statistical, and comprehensive. It is as free from appeal to the emotions as a weather report, and on this account it will prove all the more effective as an indictment of the political and social policies responsible for the conditions described.

*Cities of Sin* deals with the same problem but in an exactly different manner. It attempts to describe the prostitution of



the Orient, but the impression it makes upon the reader is similar to the feature story of the newspaper. One is left with the feeling that the author's constant effort to be dramatic distorts the picture he has undertaken to draw. He justifies his sensationalism as necessary to bring about the "enlightenment of the masses."

Houses of prostitution have decreased in the United States, especially during the last decade. This has chiefly come from cultural changes and a different public attitude toward this form of vice. Repressive legislation, however, has had a part in the reform. Waterman, in concise form, gives us the history of the laws passed in New York City in the legal attack upon prostitution, their interpretation by the courts and enforcement by the police. It is a valuable summary, and the author has succeeded, as was his hope, in keeping his personal bias from influencing his conclusions.

Reckless describes the present status of commercialized vice in Chicago and shows the changes that have occurred since the Vice Commission of Chicago made public its findings in 1911 and since the closing of the segregated district in 1912. The book will be welcomed by the sociologist because it permits a comparison between conditions before and after twenty years of suppressive effort, and also because it discusses the new forms that prostitution is now taking.

Although *Life in the Making* is designed for popular reading, its material is drawn from contemporary science, especially from the recent knowledge of the reproductive phenomena of animals gained through experiment. The author has not hesitated to express himself regarding controversial subjects, but when he has done this he has made it clear that the opinions are his own and has given the reader some knowledge of the opposite view.

*Sex and Internal Secretions* is an impressive book both in size and in content. It is a survey of recent research in the physiology of sex and reproduction and represents the contributions of twenty-one specialists. It summarizes the knowledge science had achieved up to the time of its publication. It catalogues and interprets the experiments which have made the better understanding of sex possible. The book demonstrates that at the present time science knows much about the sex life of animals and little indeed about that of men and women. This is frankly admitted on the last page of the book, and this statement, although it states what we do not know rather than what we do, is most important for the sociologist and for those interested in the psychology of human sex. These are the concluding words of this exhaustive study:

Considerable progress has already been made in finding suitable indicators of sexual drive in laboratory animals and in setting up standards of reference, but little progress along these lines may be claimed for man.

As a rule, experimenters have been slow to apply to man the data on sexual drive obtained from the lower animals. For that they are to be commended. Only rigidly controlled experiments reveal the limits of applicability of data from animals to man (or vice versa), in view of many constitutional and cultural factors by which they are separated. Standing in the way of such experiments at the present time is the paucity of factual data concerning sexual activities in man. Some who possess information about their own sexual activities are reluctant to reveal them; others who lack these inhibitions are handicapped by uncertain memories for past events. And few untrained individuals, it would seem, are capable of distinguishing clearly between what they observe of themselves and what they infer. It is the author's belief that scientists have no alternative to placing representative men and women in controlled experimental situations in order to gather from them basic data on the subject of sexual drive, particularly such expressions of sexuality as are determined by controllable factors. Carefully collected data from even one hundred cases might demonstrate the usability of data collected by the simpler questionnaire tech-

nique of Davis, the interview method of Hamilton, and the standardized test technique of Terman and Miles.

*The Tides of Life*, written for the layman, aims to give a clear but restrained summary of the present status of the science of endocrinology. Anyone acquainted with the confusion now existing in this highly specialized field of medicine, which has tempted some specialists to run ahead of science with extravagant and dogmatic assertions, will realize that this book is finely-tempered scientifically and also written with extraordinary skill. Much as we do not yet know regarding the influence of the endocrine glands upon the body, enough has been discovered in recent years to change not only our understanding of physiology but also of human conduct. We are learning especially the complexity of the sexual and reproductive functioning of the human body and how greatly it influences all forms of human behavior. Human personality is not, however, the author cautions us, merely a gland-product, for, as he says, "Certainly morality has not yet, at any rate, been successfully reduced to chemistry."

*Man into Woman* has social value only as it serves to popularize our present knowledge of the meaning of structural aberration of sex. It would have been a more useful book if the introduction to the narrative had been more complete and more

pointed, bringing out the fact that psychiatry does not think of masculine and feminine in the hard and fast concepts of the man in the street, but discovers in each personality a compound of both traits. The predominance of one type over the other establishes emotionally the sex of the person. This supremacy is in no small degree influenced by social conditions, especially those of early childhood. In its deeper and more physiological expression, sex is determined by the functioning of the endocrine system which brings forth masculine or feminine characteristics. In rare cases the development of physiological consistency is defeated by the continuation of the two opposite sex forms, each being potentially present from the earliest stages of foetus growth, so that the person, either man or woman, although leaning toward one rather than the other, approaches human hermaphroditism. In such cases, if the need of surgical help is indicated, it should be obtained in early childhood.

The life-story of this book reveals careless radiology, reckless surgery, and doubtful ethics, for it must not be forgotten that the experiment required the removal of normal ovaries from the woman of 26 who in some way was led to accept her mutilation. A much more extreme case of human hermaphroditism is reported in *Alienist and Neurologist* for August, 1916.

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## SOCIAL BIOLOGY

FRANK H. HANKINS

*Smith College*

THE SCIENTIFIC BASIS OF EVOLUTION. By Thomas Hunt Morgan. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1933. ix + 283 pp. \$3.50.

THE SCIENCE OF HUMAN REPRODUCTION. By Howard M. Parshley. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1933. xv + 204 pp. \$3.50.

SEX DETERMINATION. By F. A. E. Crew. London: Methuen and Co., 1933. ix + 137 pp. 3 s. 6 d. net.

SCIENCE AND HUMAN LIFE. By J. B. S. Haldane. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1933. vii + 287 pp.

POPULATION TRENDS IN THE UNITED STATES. By Warren S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933. x + 415 pp. \$4.00. (Recent Social Trends Monographs.)

HEALTH AND ENVIRONMENT. By Edgar Sydenstricker. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933. xii + 217 pp. \$2.50. (Recent Social Trends Monographs.)

THE PROFESSIONS. By A. M. Carr-Saunders and P. A. Wilson. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1933. vii + 536 pp. \$6.75.

NEW TYPES OF OLD AMERICANS AT HARVARD AND AT EASTERN WOMEN'S COLLEGES. By Gordon Townsend Bowles. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932. xiv + 144 pp. \$2.50.

It has seldom been the reviewer's good luck to have the opportunity to read at one time so many books in the broad field of social biology of such uniformly high quality as those listed above. Every one of them is a first-rate work. Taken as a whole they give one a survey of a large portion of the entire field, ranging as they do from the fundamental treatise of Morgan through that of Parshley to the detailed studies by Crew and Bowles. Nearly every one of them is worthy of more extensive attention than is possible in a collective review.

Morgan's treatise, a selection of the Scientific Book Club, is a truly distinguished work, such a work as one expects

from a scientist of international repute. While of the very greatest authority, it is so clearly written that the lay reader who already has some initiation into the findings of modern biology can read it with pleasure and profit. He will complain only of the brevity with which numerous points are treated. The contents constitute a comprehensive survey of the fundamentals of heredity, variation, and selection, from the cellular basis through Mendelism to the hormonal factors in sex dimorphism. There are chapters also on the recapitulation doctrine and the inheritance of acquired characters. The unique features are two. One is a chapter on "The Social Evolution of Man," which treats of the significance of cultural conditions in current sociological terms. The other is a running fire against the metaphysicians, culminating in the contrast of mechanistic and metaphysical interpretations in the last chapter.

He hits out at the philosophers and metaphysicians in no uncertain terms over and over again, finding them ignorant of research achievements and adepts in mysticism and foggy imaginings. He discusses the views of Bergson, Smuts, Lloyd, Morgan, Driesch, J. S. Haldane, Jeans and Eddington (his colleague Millikan is spared). His closing sentence is a gem: "The boldest spirits amongst the mechanists go further and claim that in time they hope to bring within reach of their methods a study of the lucubrations, hallucinations and obsessions of the human mind, which, masquerading under the illumination of introspective metaphysics and transcendental philosophy, pretends to solve all the riddles of the universe." (P. 254.) He even takes exception to

Jennings' acceptance of the idea of emergent evolution, and if one is to interpret emergent evolution in the word juggling manner of Jennings, he is clearly on firm ground. There is, however, no necessary conflict between the mechanistic view and that of emergence. It is true that the atom has properties that are new, when compared with its constituent electrons and protons; water has new properties not exhibited by its constituent elements; and so on through the material basis of life and mind. But at each step one does not need to introduce an *élan* or internal directive principle; he need assume only that in the new combinations new behavior characteristics and potentialities of the constituent elements are revealed. In fact, Morgan's thesis is that the key to biological evolution is found in the mutation, a conspicuous example of emergent evolution interpretable in mechanistic terms.

Parshley's book is a first-class work, authoritative, informing, comprehensive, and very readable. It covers reproduction in the zoölogical world generally and then the cellular basis, the organs, the physiology and the endocrinology of human reproduction, with numerous excellent illustrations, some of them the best the reviewer has seen. It closes with chapters on "Sex Traits in Childhood and Adolescence," "Population and Eugenics," and "The Biology of Sex Behavior." This is certainly one of the best treatises available for the general public from whatever angle it be judged. The sixty-six illustrations ought to be worth the price of the book as means of popular education. Many of them are uniquely valuable, being available only in relatively inaccessible scientific papers. Its wide circulation will do much to dispel the tangle of ignorant superstitions regarding reproduction. While not serviceable as a college text, it is eminently useful for sup-

plementary reading in various courses in sociology and biology. The sociologist may find the author somewhat extreme in some of his pronouncements on the social aspects, especially his advocacy (P. 247) of marriage at ages sixteen for girls and seventeen for boys. Even were birth control entirely successful, we cannot be sure of either the physiological or the social consequences of the general adoption of such as a custom. The author finds the desire for sex variety inherent in the human animal and cites some interesting evidence of the same trait in the apes. He neglects, however, as does Bertrand Russell, whose view he espouses, the importance of jealousy. It seems highly probable that this also has its inherent basis as shown also by anthropoid behavior. Moreover, the cultivation of egocentrism, which characterizes a high state of culture, seems to make it more rather than less active. In any case, it is obviously opposed to sex variety, as that must be attained under existing law and sentiment. This objection could very probably be obviated if some provision for variety were incorporated into the established mores.

Crew's little volume on the determination of sex is one of a semi-popular series on biological subjects. It is much too detailed for all except the reader deeply interested in the subject, although the glossary at the end smooths the way through technicalities. Its general conclusion is that, although the X and Y chromosomes are the principal agents in sex determination, genes carried on the autosomes exert a modifying influence which sometimes upsets the basic tendency. The final result depends on the "genetic balance." A brief explanation of the same conclusion, together with some hints as to the probable enzyme factors involved, will be found in Morgan's work.



J. B. S. Haldane, who assures us in his Preface that he is not the same man as his father, J. S. Haldane, has in addition to his scientific status acquired considerable reputation as a popular science essayist. This collection of twenty-three odds and ends represents the scientist in moments of relaxation. There are a few valuable papers, of which "Prehistory in the Light of Genetics" ranks high. Most of them, however, are bright, conversational little essays, always well written, in which are imbedded numerous nuggets of fact, wisdom and wit, along with an occasional stupidity. One feels that the author not infrequently strives to be clever and that he prefers to make a witty turn, or say something smart, rather than to pursue his subject seriously. However, this is doubtless a recommendation, as the book gives one easy access to the operations of a brilliant and flexible mind. He is a strong believer in the innate inequality of human beings, believes in birth control and eugenics, though doubting whether the latter can do much. He sees no virtue in night air and thinks Chesterton the greatest low-brow poet since Kipling ceased poetizing. An excellent book for leisure moments.

Thompson and Whelpton have produced for the Social Trends series a volume of very substantial worth. It is a veritable mine of carefully sifted and accurately determined information regarding the present and probable future status of our population. Successive chapters treat growth, distribution, national origins, age and sex composition, marital condition, births and deaths, immigration and natural increase, future prospects, and population policy. In most cases important social, political, and economic aspects of present and future population trends are discussed in a thoroughly workmanlike manner. Seventy pages of Appendix

Tables, twenty-six in number, supplement the eighty-eight tables and thirty-six charts of the text. The volume represents a vast amount of close work and will henceforth constitute an authoritative reference of first value. The chapters on national origins, age composition, deaths and death rates, births and birth rates, and probable future trends and their consequences are especially valuable compendiums.

On the whole the authors' comments are likely to meet with very general approval. They verge on utopianism in spots, notably in the closing pages of Chapter I. It is just now a sort of fashion to find in a planned society the solution of most of our ills and to exaggerate the evils of the free-for-all scramble of the past. No doubt most of us will strongly sympathize with this tendency. In doing so, however, we need not lose sight of the enormous difficulties of regulation. The control of the growth of cities or of regions involves vastly more than the control of freight rates. Our present ignorance of social forces warrants with assumption that most any effort we now make on a national scale to control the numbers of people living in different places will create problems about as vast as those we solve. Much of what is said in later pages regarding the consequences of changes in numbers and composition has been said before by Professor Thompson, but it is all eminently worth repeating.

The Sydenstricker study is also in the Social Trends series. It is in the nature of a monograph on the influence of various aspects of environment—geographical, economic, rural or urban, occupational—on morbidity and mortality. There are valuable chapters on the recent trend of mortality and on various social changes and health, in addition to a brief and cautious discussion of the rôle of heredity

in the first and last chapters. The author has held himself quite closely to carefully checked researches in the chosen field and rejected repeated temptation to wander into hypothetical speculations. No fresh researches appear to have been undertaken for this study but a very thoughtful and penetrating use has been made of a large number of previous investigations, among which those made by Dr. Sydenstricker himself loom large. The material relates almost entirely to American conditions but English data are drawn upon for supplement and illustration. It is extremely gratifying to have so meaty a volume on an aspect of population study where heretofore no really satisfactory compendium has existed. It should serve to spread enlightenment and above all to stimulate further investigation. It is invaluable to the student in revealing the complexity of relationships in matters too often thought simple. The emphasis throughout is on social environment. The rôle of heredity is recognized but its importance generally minimized. It is very doubtful whether Hogben would subscribe to the form in which his view as to the rôle of dominant genes is stated on Page 9. If a disease is due to a *dominant* gene the presence of the gene would ordinarily account for the disease, which would come under Hogben's category of "hereditary" as distinguished from "familial." A disease due to a dominant gene would be just the kind that would "run in families." The caution, however, is important in the case of recessive genes and multiple allelomorphs. This work will meet with a warm welcome among teachers of sociology and population courses.

It seems strange that heretofore no extensive study has been made of the rise and social status of the professional classes in modern society. This is surprising in

view of the vast literature on trade unions and trade associations; and of the fact that most of the special techniques and special knowledge upon which civilized life depends is controlled by the professional classes. The voluminous compilation made by Carr-Saunders and Wilson goes far to fill the void. It is, however, a collection of facts and raw materials, rather than a work of sociological interpretation, though this last is by no means neglected. It is far from doing for the professions what the work of the Webbs did for trade unionism. In the list of professions one notes the usual ones, except the ministry which the authors purposely exclude on questionable grounds (P. 3), but included also are nurses, midwives, masseurs, and secretaries. The authors do not claim to have included all but they do say definitely (P. 284) that not only have they not attempted to formulate a test whereby a vocation which is a profession can be distinguished from one that is not, but also they "do not believe there is such a test." They do, however, detail certain characteristics of a profession which would not exclude photographers, social workers, barbers, auctioneers, brewery-masters, insurance agents, and scientific managers among perhaps many others not included by them. This, of course, only emphasizes their contention. The progress of the division of labor, which Durkheim showed to be a process of increasing social integration, has developed such an array of special skills, each with its own bits of special knowledge, that no clear-cut line can be drawn at the point where a vocation ceases to be a profession. One could, however, arrange a hierarchy including at the top those vocations that have the greatest number of professional traits and ending with those that have only one or a few.

In addition to a vast amount of informa-

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tion on the history of the various professions, their education, organization, legal status, fees, etc., there is a brief discussion in Part II of the professions before and since the Industrial Revolution, and in Part III an extremely valuable discussion of such problems as professional education, discipline, conduct, economic problems and public relations. These last chapters contain much that is suggestive as to the rôle of the professions in our evolving culture. The authors are deeply attached to the principles of free association among professionals and the perfection and extension of professional services by the initiative of the profession rather than through state compulsion. In these days when every aspect of social life is coming more and more under the control of a Leviathan state, it is of first-rate importance to find the proper reconciliation between that professional knowledge and technique which is power and that popular control which demands the good things of life for everybody. In doing so the pride which leads a professional man to do his job well and the free initiative which keeps a profession abreast of scientific advances must not be stultified.

The painstaking study by Bowles uses Harvard physical measurements of fathers and sons for numerous bodily proportions, heights and weights of Revolutionary soldiers and 1812 sailors, and various measurements of mothers and daughters who had attended Wellesley, Vassar, Smith or Mr. Holyoke colleges. He finds clear

evidence of increase in height and weight and creates a presumption that such increase has gone on steadily for a century. During eighty years the average annual increment in height for each sex was .08 cm., or 1 cm. (.3937 inches) every twelve and one-half years. The author attributes this increase primarily to better food, medical care, and more healthful living. Comparative data show similar increase in stature among Europeans and Japanese.

The whole research seems to have been carefully done. The author thinks that errors in the data must explain his finding that Harvard sons have much larger percentages of light eyes but dark hair than their fathers, but this may be an authentic fact. European observers have commented on the remarkable persistence of the light eye in mixed Nordic-Alpine areas. Nordic enthusiasts will doubtless note that Harvard men, recent and past, are much lighter in eye color than Hrdlicka's Old Americans and his comparative data for the British Isles. Harvard naturally selects the best! The careful reader will be puzzled by statements under Table 68; figures in Tables 69 and 70 do not check with those in Table 67; on Page 81, "28.98 pounds as opposed to 32.00" should read "38.98 pounds as opposed to 42.00." The validity of Pearson's concepts, "unit and intermittent prepotency" (93-4), may be seriously questioned. However, this is a study of first-rate quality, a valuable contribution to the physical anthropology of the American people.

## EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

HAROLD D. MEYER

*University of North Carolina*

READINGS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY. Vol. I.  
 Edited by E. George Payne. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1932. 372 pp. \$3.00.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF TEACHING. By Willard Waller.  
 New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1932. 467 pp.  
 \$3.50.

The past decade has witnessed the rapid growth of educational sociology as a field of sociology. Its place possesses stability in the curriculum. Numerous texts have appeared and hundreds of articles have been written. The results of scientific research studies, experimentation, and applied projects offer a wide range of material. For many years Professor Payne realized the necessity of supplementing the text with readings. Many persons and organizations furnished the source material contained in *Readings in Educational Sociology*. The material has been gathered with no definite point of view but furnishes the student and teacher, especially interested in the introductory course, concrete data which develop a socio-scientific approach to the study of education. The material is effectively valuable to the instructor who desires to formulate his own course direction and content.

The list of contributors justifies the belief in its richness and the reliability of its modern viewpoint. Different points of view are expressed on various subjects assuring balance and analysis. The editor has shown good discrimination in choice of readings and the volume should prove a rich addition to the many varying courses of educational sociology. It is hoped that Volume II will soon appear thus giving a comprehensive picture of these aids. From such works may come definite interpretation that should bring the field of study within specific and agreed areas.

*The Sociology of Teaching* is based upon the beliefs that many teachers perish for the lack of an insight into the social realities of school life and the need for insight to put advanced educational theories into practice. Quoting the author, we find in the Preface the key to his philosophy. "What this book tells is what every teacher knows, that the world of school is a social world. Those human beings who live together in the school, though deeply severed in one sense, nevertheless spin a tangled web of interrelationships; that web and the people in it make up the social world of school. It is not a wide world, but for those who know it, it is a world compact with meaning. It is a unique world. It is the purpose of this book to explore it."

The volume is a study of the life of human beings in a school. There is significant sociological analysis throughout. Concepts of sociology and social psychology are related to the phenomena of school life. The work abounds in concrete illustrations of typical school projects and programs. The project method of teaching is emphasized.

The book is well written and unusually stimulating and interesting. While it is primarily a text in the field of educational sociology it should be utilized by the entire teaching profession. In fact, its appeal is more directly to the individual teacher than as a text. It would be advantageous for every State Department of Education to put the book on its reading circle list or to require its reading for certification or promotion. Teaching would develop as a finer art if its leadership could be guided by the philosophy and practice developed by Professor Waller.

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## ECONOMICS OF THE FARM

CLIFTON J. BRADLEY

*University of Kentucky*

HISTORY AND THEORY OF AGRICULTURAL CREDIT IN THE UNITED STATES. By E. S. Sparks. New York: Crowell, 1932. 476 pp. \$3.75.

OUTLINES OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS. By Henry C. Taylor. New York: Macmillan, 1931. 614 pp.

COÖPERATION IN MARKETING DAIRY PRODUCTS. By Roland Willey Bartlett. Baltimore: Charles C. Thomas, 1931. 299 pp. \$4.00.

Reviewers tend to be either hypercritical or eulogistic of the material reviewed. An unbiased and impartial attitude is always difficult to maintain. Nevertheless, the reviewer, in his evaluation of these three excellent volumes, has attempted a calm statement, even though, at times, he may have found himself inclined toward lavish bestowal of eulogistic rhapsodies. For, although these studies came from press yesterday, and not today, their timeliness and applicability to present-day farm problems and situations cannot be gainsaid or ignored.

The outstanding contributions of the treatise by Sparks are four in number. In the first place, an excellent historical study of the rôle of credit in American agriculture is presented, which as textual matter marks a decided addition to banking and credit literature. Secondly, the rather unorthodox viewpoint is developed early, and held to throughout, that American agriculture, historically speaking, has suffered from a plethora rather than from a scarcity of credit. In the third place, this carefully and skillfully prepared presentation of what has happened in the use of credit by American farmers leads to a better understanding of the principles involved and is suggestive of sound and enduring practices. Both proponents and opponents of pending farm relief legislation would find it

profitable to read of like legislative and organized efforts of earlier years as set forth in this study. Finally, the author presents a comprehensive and well-chosen bibliography, which will be useful alike to both general and agricultural credit students.

Since Colonial days, American farmers have persistently held that proper development of their industry has been hampered by a lack of money and credit. Laboring under this belief, farmers in the early days organized land banks for the issuance of currency secured by mortgages on land and induced colonial legislatures to set fixed prices for farm products. Later, the "wild cat" banking days of the 30's and 40's are directly ascribable to farmer demands for larger volumes of cheap credit and currency. Following the Civil War, this belief expressed itself in the Greenback, Populist, Granger, Farmers' Alliance and kindred movements. More recently still, we have the Farm-Labor Party and the Non-Partisan League.

Throughout our national history the farm element has persistently demanded inflationary and debt relief legislation. All of these influences and vastly more are faithfully depicted by the author. For instance, the Second United States Bank (1816-1836) was quite consequential in the agricultural development of that period. Again, the Federal Reserve Act of 1913 contains rather sweeping farm credit provisions. Written in an easy, lucid style and divided into six parts with a well chosen bibliography at the end of each chapter, this book is well adapted to class-room use, and doubtless will receive the generous reception that it so truly merits.

This revised edition of Dr. Taylor's earlier work easily continues to be, as did its predecessor, the outstanding college text in the field of agricultural economics. Chiefly, and fortunately, the form and content of the revision remain essentially unchanged, the only difference of note being the treatment of selected and significant developments since 1928. In one respect students will be disappointed, namely, the use of no later census data than 1920. By delaying publication six months, data obtained in the 1930 Census could have been used.

Although a high level of excellence is maintained throughout, it can hardly be expected that, in a study of this length, all of the chapters will possess equal merit. Some of the particularly good ones include Chapter 10 wherein the attributes of a successful farmer are listed and discussed; Chapter 19, which is a splendid historical résumé of land settlement in the United States; Chapters 20 and 21, which deal with the historical status of farm tenancy in the United States; Chapters 24 and 25 wherein are discussed significant phases of farm land holding and operation in England; Chapters 26 through 30, which treat of marketing in its various phases; and Chapter 33, wherein are set forth the basic principles of coöperation.

In the light of present political discussions and probable developments, Chapter 32 dealing with the possibilities and limitations of price-fixing for agricultural commodities is of particular interest.

In closing this altogether favorable review, I wish to quote some intensely human phrases used by the author and with which all who are interested in social improvement can heartily agree.

So long as farmers continue to compete with each other on a basis of a low standard of living, no addition to the share of agriculture in the national income can be counted upon as a permanent contribution

to farmers. It will slip away into higher land values or into cheaper prices for farm products, unless it is tied to the farm population by a higher standard of living to which farmers will adhere tenaciously and which will form a higher plane for future competition. . . . Greater security in their incomes year after year would enable farmers to maintain permanently the gains they have made in their standard of living through better incomes earned through better farming and better marketing. The standard of living is the only true measure of the well-being of the rural population. It is the tenacious adherence to a higher standard of living that will guarantee that farmers will in the long run secure a fair share of the national income.

The author of this timely study of *Coöperation in Marketing Dairy Products* states his purpose as follows:

Coöperation in marketing dairy products has had a rapid development in the United States, especially during the past fifteen years. It is the aim of this book to present the essential facts of this development and the experiences of individuals and organizations engaged in the dairy industry, in order to provide a basis for an understanding of the major problems now confronting the marketing end of this industry.

This general purpose is well achieved and the result is a well-written and clearly expressed study concisely and convincingly stated.

A prominent feature of Part One is Chapter 7, entitled, "Producers' Membership Relations," which is a scintillating statement of procedure requisite to coöperative success. The brief discussions of practically all coöperatives handling daily products in the United States are also quite helpful.

Part Two is a highly detailed and technical discussion of various price plans used by coöperatives in the United States at the present time for marketing fluid milk. The opening chapter sets forth the economic principles involved in formulating price plans. Nine interesting, although not finally conclusive, requirements are noted. Three price plans with their

respective variants are described at length. These are: (1) the classification, or multiple, plan; (2) the basic surplus plan; and (3) the combination price plan. The author definitely commits himself to a definite preference for the third of these plans and more specifically to a variant of it, or what is known as the "equalizing value" plan. The reviewer is not competent to sit in judgment on the merits of these respective plans, but he feels sure that all dealers, commissions, and coöpera-

tives which deal with the general problem of determining fluid milk prices will find much food for thought in this technical discussion of the actual workings of various price plans. Teachers of agricultural marketing will find this study useful for supplemental reading. Upon the merits of its very real worth, this publication will no doubt receive marked and deserved recognition within a rather specialized branch of agricultural economics.

### THE SOUTH DURING THE "FIERY EPOCH"

GUION GRIFFIS JOHNSON

*University of North Carolina*

SOUTHERN EDITORIALS ON SECESSION. Compiled by Dwight L. Dumond. New York: Century, 1931. 608 pp. \$4.00.

SOUTH CAROLINA DURING RECONSTRUCTION. By Francis Butler Simkins and Robert Hilliard Woody. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1932. 610 pp. \$8.00.

THE FIERY EPOCH, 1830-1877. By Charles Willis Thompson. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1931. 367 pp. \$3.00.

Within the last four years there has been a tremendous increase in the interest of students and laymen alike in the history of conditions leading up to and following the Civil War. Heretofore the research done in this period of American history has been written largely by students from the North. It is indicative of the general "awakening" of the South that the recent interest in southern history has come largely from work being done within the South itself.

Dwight L. Dumond's *Southern Editorials on Secession* is the first volume of Beveridge Fund Publications of the American Historical Association. After a brief but able introduction setting forth the relative positions which the various leading southern newspapers took on the question of

secession, the compiler publishes 183 editorials from 72 different newspapers. The first editorial which he quotes appeared in January, 1860 and the last in May, 1861, a period of only seventeen months. The editorials show that the idea of secession developed slowly, but Mr. Dumond would have had a better case had he not confined himself to so brief a period. The idea of secession began first to appear in southern newspapers as early as 1850. It would have been interesting for the reader to have samples of these early editorials to compare with those which appeared immediately preceding the Civil War. Such a comparison probably would enable the average student to obtain a better perspective of this period of southern history. The only other criticism which the reviewer might offer of this otherwise excellent compilation is that the editor has placed an undue emphasis upon editorials from New Orleans, 65 out of the total number, while he gives only fourteen from South Carolina, eleven from Georgia, four from Alabama, one from Mississippi, and he neglects Florida, Texas, and Arkansas altogether.

F. B. Simkins and R. H. Woody's *South Carolina During Reconstruction*, the third book on this subject to be published, is by far the most satisfactory of them all. The American Historical Association awarded this work the John H. Dunning prize which is given biennially for an essay in American history. The authors have set a new standard for studies in the Reconstruction period. The able monographs which appeared for so many years under the direction of that incomparable teacher, Professor Dunning of Columbia University, were chiefly political in scope, but Mr. Simkins and Mr. Woody, while not neglecting the political side of Reconstruction, have also stressed the economic and social.

Out of a total of twenty chapters, twelve deal definitely with social and economic conditions. The authors give a detailed picture of the social and economic situation at the close of the war; they discuss transportation conditions, the effect of reconstruction upon agriculture and upon the cotton mill industry, the struggle to obtain an economic equilibrium, and the effect upon religion, education, and social life in general.

Unlike most students of the Reconstruction period, they have not found it totally bad. For instance, Reconstruction gave South Carolina its public school system. Among the greatest evils of "the dark period" they have found to be the increase of race prejudice, "the inability of the commonwealth to make significant contributions to the life of the nation" and the sinister interpretation which historians and laymen alike have placed upon Reconstruction.

In addition to the book's being an excellent piece of research, it is a beautiful example of the book-maker's art. It contains maps, half-tones, and numerous reproductions of cartoons which ap-

peared in the leading magazines of the period.

Charles Willis Thompson, author of *The Fiery Epoch*, is not a trained historian as are the foregoing authors. He is a journalist and a careful observer of American politics. He makes no pretense to be scholarly; his work is based entirely upon secondary material. But he tells a good story and writes in a readable, forceful style. It is his opinion that the Civil War began in 1830, when "the Reds of the North" put the South on the defensive, and did not close until President Hayes withdrew the last of the Northern garrisons from the South in 1877.

RACES AND ETHNIC GROUPS IN AMERICAN LIFE. By T. J. Woofter, Jr. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933. 247 pp. \$2.50. (Recent Social Trends Monographs.)

It is of course to be expected that the present volume will come up to the standard set by the other Recent Social Trends Monographs, even though the first casual investigation of Woofter's contribution raises some initial doubt as to whether the topic can be covered comprehensively in so small a compass. Furthermore, since the author cites very few well-known authorities in this field, the reader seems justified in expecting an ambitious and original contribution.

To render the author full justice one must do the obvious—that is, read the introduction and comprehend the aims set forth by Professor Woofter. Thus we learn that "the primary selection was imposed by the theme of the whole undertaking, namely, the description of trends rather than an exposition of the present situation." In addition,

... those interested in some one particular ethnic group more than any other will doubtless feel that the subject of their particular interest is inadequately treated in this volume. On this point the author wishes to re-emphasize the statement that this is not



an attempt at an exhaustive treatment either of the philosophy of race relations or of the detailed relations of the various ethnic groups to the native Americans or to each other. (p. ix)

The author then proceeds to discuss the ethnic pattern, natural increase, immigration, movement and distribution, agriculture, urban occupations, health, education, social problems, race prejudice and discrimination, intermarriage, assimilation, and constructive possibilities.

To summarize the conclusions reached by the author would be a task impossible within the limits of our review, and would certainly not do him full justice. We are informed, for example, that

...before the tide of immigration slackened the United States already had within its boundaries large groups of alien people whose assimilation will continue to create problems over a long period, especially since many of these people are non-white in color and consequently transmit their differences in physical appearance, thus setting apart their descendants for a number of generations. (p. 4)

We can readily state that Dr. Woofter, already an established writer, has added to his credit another worthy book, which must be read slowly and carefully; it has its own peculiar vigor, being brief and pointed without any trace of dullness. But frankly, we evaluate this contribution as one of compilation, organization and analysis, rather than of original interpretation. We base our assertion on the fact that Professor Woofter depends extensively upon W. S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton's *Population Trends in the United States*, and that the chapter on "Health" was prepared by Hugh P. Brinton, a sub-chapter on "Negro-White Relations" by Guy B. Johnson, and the material for another sub-chapter on "The Foreign Press," by the Foreign Language Information Service. However, such a method is naturally quite permissible and justifiable, especially since within these limits are found frequent

passages of profound insight and understanding of this great problem.

The reviewer doubts whether it is appropriate to criticize any author for what he has omitted to include in his book. But if such a practice is permissible, I may say that I believe Dr. Woofter has missed an opportunity in one or two respects. For example, with few exceptions, no study of our immigrants has included the viewpoints of the minority groups themselves. I can readily understand that no American scholar is able to study the languages of all important minority peoples of the United States, though such consideration does not, naturally, concern our most important minority—the Negro. Then, too, it would have been enlightening if Dr. Woofter had investigated the extent to which the statistics of the minorities groups themselves differ from the official statistics of the United States; what successful and even more unsuccessful attempts are being made today by the groups themselves to preserve their social identity; and what means and practices are used by them to achieve such ends. In short, a special effort must be made to study carefully the "trends" from the viewpoints of races and ethnic groups in American life—themselves. By combining an analysis of their viewpoints and social efforts with the "American" viewpoint (such as presented by Dr. Woofter), a basic scholarly study of impartial value would be possible, simply because it would acknowledge the unrecognized social realities.

But our suggestions certainly must not detract from the value of the present work, which is written in judicial spirit, and which expresses in a scholarly and vigorous fashion the very earnest and sound convictions and opinions of the author.

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK.

*Pennsylvania State College.*

RURAL SOCIAL TRENDS. By Edmund deS. Brunner and J. H. Kolb. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1933. 386 pp. \$4.00. (Recent Social Trends Monographs.)

*Rural Social Trends* by Edmund deS. Brunner and J. H. Kolb is one of a series of monographs published under the direction of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends, embodying scientific information assembled for the use of the committee in the preparation of its report entitled *Recent Social Trends in the United States*. This volume of nearly four hundred pages contains a vast amount of discussion and data that could not be included in the report on *Recent Social Trends*.

*Rural Social Trends*, in addition to the foreword, preface, and nearly one hundred pages of valuable data in the appendix, contains the following chapters: (1) Rural Population, Its Mobility and Changing Characteristics; (2) Country Life and Agriculture; (3) Village Growth; (4) Country and Village Relations; (5) Rural and Urban Relationships; (6) Merchandising and Credit Services; (7) The Public School and Education; (8) Religious Agencies and Services; (9) Social and Recreational Organizations; (10) Rural Social Services; (11) Social Implications of Local Government; and (12) 1930 and After.

The opening chapters are concerned with those factors that underlie and condition rural social life and the trends which are developing. The later chapters present in detail information about the economic, educational, social and religious life, organizations and institutions of rural communities, and the developments of the decade following 1920.

The data upon which the volume rests are exclusively from two sources: (1) the United States Census, much of it unpublished, for several hundred counties and for 177 villages; and (2) data collected by trained investigators who were sent into 140 agricultural villages and the surround-

ing territory and into twenty-six counties nearly all of which areas had previously been studied by the Institute for Social and Religious Research in either 1921 or 1924. The same techniques and field workers were employed in all the studies. Thus the volume presents a picture of rural social changes based on studies of identical communities located in every region of the United States. The main objectives are to present a picture of the American rural community in 1930, to contrast it with the earlier conditions, and to offer certain suggested explanations or interpretations of those changes that were found.

The writer feels that the strength of this volume is also its weakness. Disproportionate space and attention are given villages. A very large part of the objective data concern exclusively the 177 villages studied by the Institute for Social and Religious Research, and restudied to discover changes that had taken place. The volume deals more with rural non-farm areas than with the rural farm regions. That part of rural America which lies in the vast open spaces beyond the villages is not given sufficient attention to make the volume well-balanced. The authors preferred to limit the later chapters of the report to the objective data available. Unfortunately there were little data for the open country comparable with the data on villages which previously had been studied by the Institute for Social and Religious Research.

The authors are to be commended, first for limiting their report to an analysis of the available objective data, and second, for the scholarly, unbiased, and interesting manner in which they have presented their findings. *Rural-Social Trends* is a landmark. No student of rural life can afford not to become acquainted with the findings reported in this volume.

S. H. HOBBS, JR.

*University of North Carolina.*

MAN AND HIS WORLD. Edited by James H. S. Bossard. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1932. xiv + 755 pp. \$3.50.

There are almost as many orientation texts as there are schools that use them. This volume would rank high among the best half dozen. Being the product of seven years' classroom experience, it is a sort of "organic growth"; it has the solidity and factuality, the sweep and suggestiveness, that such a text should possess. As vested departmental specialists and educational leaders that follow rather than lead are forced to face the fact that college students must comprehend their physical and social world rather than merely "pass a few courses," the use of such books will greatly increase. It, or its like, should certainly be "required reading, each year for nine-tenths of our college teachers, to say nothing of the students.

The purpose is to orient freshmen to the world of science. After two excellent introductory chapters by Bossard on orientation and the place of science in the modern world, Part II introduces astronomy, chemistry and geology under the title "Law and Order in the Universe." No student can master Pugh's spirited presentation of this material without being jarred loose from his anthropocentrism and having his imagination vastly stimulated in scope and daring. Part III deals with life and mind under the headings organic evolution, heredity, psychology, and culture. Kirkpartick has done a good job on the psychological section, especially in the chapters on the newer psychology and mental hygiene. Part IV, "Man Mastering His World," treats of progress, the scientific and industrial revolutions, control of disease, population problems, with four fine final chapters by Rice on the field and problems of social science. Part V, "Methods of

Mastering," discusses the nature of science, use and abuse of statistics, some statistical concepts, case method, and research agencies. A competent subject index and an index of the six hundred-plus writers cited complete the volume.

Negative criticism of such a book is almost presumptuous even if space were unlimited. A considerable number of items of omission or difference of opinion as to interpretation or emphasis were noted and should be discussed in any adequate review. Only a few can be mentioned, and too briefly.

The implication of the entire book is that lawfulness and orderliness is the fundamental nature of natural phenomena; whereas it is obvious to commonsense, and still more so to instrumental sense-observations that many, probably most, natural phenomena are distinctly disorderly; in fact, there is an element of unlawfulness in the occurrence of all events since they are all unique. The scientist has to assume only sufficient similarity between delimited objects and events to make possible practical generalizations of relatively stable uniformities. This view does not deny the postulate that all events are caused, or determined, by antecedent events, but it does deny the postulation or implication that there is any absolute orderliness or law in the universe. It postulates an indeterminate universe in which all the events are determined; it holds that scientific "laws" are man-made and are not entities to be "discovered" as sensed objects are. Such a view will do much to prevent science from becoming dogmatic and *ex cathedra* as it already threatens to become in some of the fields discussed in the book.

More specifically. Little evidence is given for the inorganic origin of life although this is a stumbling block to many freshmen; no mention of mutual aid,

orthogenesis, laboratory production of new species, or the radiation theory of variation as factors in evolution; on page 248, "there may have been an original specific defect in the parents, such as *lack of will power*, which led them to become drunkards. This trait, *being heritable and not acquired*, would be responsible for the alcoholism in the offspring" (italics mine—R. B.); the Jukes and Kallikaks and other eugenic dogmas are accepted most uncritically; although mental testing is presented with some caution, there is no good critical citation such as the famous Lippmann-Terman controversy; Malthus' theory is inadequately criticized (p. 387), although the following chapter is a devastating refutation of it all except the truism that people must eat to live; birth control is barely mentioned with no indication of its significance. In general, the heredity and population sections are least satisfactory.

Specific topics that should have been discussed along with the able presentation of similar material are: the typewriter, cash register, computing machines, household appliances, anaesthetics, antiseptics, surgery, radiotherapy, libraries, the "second industrial revolution" and urbanism in relation to modern life. If may be that the best principle of organization for such a course is to describe the outstanding culture complexes of our society and show "how come."

But it is a first class book, clearly written, comprehensive, and well organized.

READ BAIN.

*Miami University.*

SOCIAL STATISTICS. By R. Clyde White. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1933. 471 pp. \$4.00.

"This book," to quote the author, "represents an effort to adapt statistical methods to the data of sociology and social work for teaching purposes in the

light of work done by American social statisticians." It is a text for beginners in the field of social research and social statistics. Outside of the conventional materials of elementary statistics, the author has included four chapters which reflect the recent trends and needs in the field of social research. These four chapters are: Chapter II, "Sources of Published Statistics," Chapter IV, "Working Out a Statistical Problem," Chapter XIV, "Vital Statistics," and Chapter XV, "Rating Scales." The book includes 71 figures, mostly charts, and 125 tables. The appendix contains five useful tables showing: ordinates of the normal probability curve, fractional parts of total area under normal curve, the Chi-function for the Pearson Chi test, squares, square roots, and reciprocals, and common logarithms. Exercises, problems, and references are provided at the end of each chapter.

Professor White has done an excellent job in showing the relation of statistics to social problems and social research. Chapter I discusses this phase of the subject in a practical and readable manner; and, in addition, throughout the text the author has used materials and methods from the recent and familiar research works of prominent American sociologists. Such an approach to the field is quite logical because it acquaints the student in a general way with the methods and content of modern social research. In the past, all too many of our social scientists have had to go through the long and tedious task of adapting statistical methods, which, they learned in the curricula of economics, education, or perhaps the physical sciences, to social problems and social work. White's timely book, therefore, represents a distinct and forward step in the development and adaptation of statistical methods to sociology and social work from the American point of view.



The next step in the same direction should be an advanced text which covers the materials of multiple and partial correlation, association analysis, and other special techniques for particular problems of research. At the present time most of the social scientists who are capable of writing such a text are too busily engaged in their own research to embark on such a gigantic task. This is unfortunate, because until such an advanced text is written, our students of social research will waste much precious time in learning their statistical methods from widely scattered sources.

The statistician who loves precision will be somewhat puzzled at Professor White's formula for calculating the median of a series (page 210) and, particularly, since the formula for calculating the 50th percentile (page 235) is given differently—and correctly. White uses the "N plus 1" formula for the median but the "N" formula for the 50th percentile. Chad-dock in his *Principles and Methods of Statistics*, page 109, is correct, I am sure, when he says in effect that the median of a series is a *value* and not a *case*, or an *item*. (On this point see also E. E. Day *Statistical Analysis*, p. 145.) It appears to the reviewer that the author does not clearly indicate the limits of the class intervals which he uses in the calculation of the

median on pages 209 to 211. In the class interval 30-34 years of age, the upper limit is 35.00 years instead of 34.9, 34.99, or even 34.999. If the proper formula for the median is used and if the class limits are precisely defined, the same value to the *n*th place for the median will be obtained whether the calculation is made from the top or the bottom of a series. (See Truman Kelley, *Statistical Method*, pp. 57-58.) The author also uses the "N plus 1" formula for calculating the first and third quartiles (page 234).

Professor White gives the usual formula for the standard error of the mean (page 337); but with small samples, as Mordecai Ezekiel points out in his *Methods of Correlation Analysis*, page 19, the factor in the denominator should be  $(N-1)^{1/2}$  instead of  $N^{1/2}$ . Formulas for standard errors of other measures where small samples are involved are subject to similar corrections.

The reviewer does not wish to place too much emphasis on minor mechanical errors of Professor White's excellent book. However, since Professor White has himself evidently taken much care in giving precise formulas elsewhere and since the two formulas mentioned above are very important, we feel that our reference to their precise statement is justified.

C. H. HAMILTON.

North Carolina State College

### NEW BOOKS RECEIVED

ADULT EDUCATION AND RURAL LIFE. Proceedings of the Fifteenth American Country Life Conference, Wheeling, West Virginia, October 14-16, 1932. Chicago: University of Chicago Press for the American Country Life Association, 1933. 153 pp. \$2.00.

THE PEOPLE'S CHOICE. By Herbert Agar. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1933. 337 pp. Illustrated. \$3.50.

660 RUNAWAY BOYS. WHY BOYS DESERT THEIR HOMES. By Clairette P. Armstrong. Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1933. 208 pp. \$3.00.

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